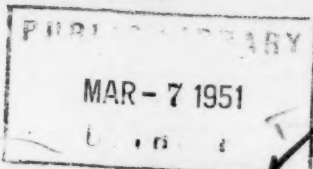


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THE MUSIC REVIEW

February 1951

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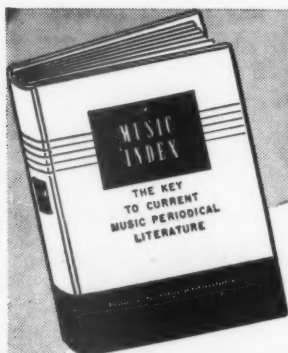
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A. E. F. Dickinson will contribute a critical essay on the music of Alan Rawsthorne. Arthur Jacobs will revalue the Gilbert and Sullivan operettas and we also hope to include an illustrated account of The Royal Festival Hall.

The usual review features will be resumed, particular attention being devoted to gramophone records.



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ON HIS
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24 FEBRUARY 1951

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Editor: GEOFFREY SHARP	

THE MUSIC REVIEW is published in February, May, August and November, on the *first* of the month. Single copies, 7s., post 4d.; annual subscription, 28s., *post free* to all parts of the world, from the publishers or obtainable through any bookseller.

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The Future

BY

JOHN CHRISTIE

MR. PAUL HIRSCH represents the past in musical achievement, in composition, in purpose and in history. We respect him. It is fitting therefore that we associate his knowledge and work with the problems of the future, and so with these problems in Britain.

This country has been handicapped by the attitude of her people to music. The bulk of the people of all classes has had little contact with and little respect for music. State money was not available and private money was apt to be spent without much discrimination. It is not wise to back the wrong people just because they are enthusiastic. The leisured classes went abroad for their music. What has been the result?

What is the remedy? Surely to use those who have the credentials and not those who have not: secondly to fix the responsibility on those who have the credentials after mixing them with wise men of the world? From that constitution the right procedure should emerge and the right procedure should produce the right results. But who have the credentials and who are the wise men of the world? Success depends on being able to distinguish these individuals. But that is ordinary life. That distinguishes successful from unsuccessful men. Is this being done? Alternatively what is being done?

Art has nothing to do with equality. Art is essentially unequal. Art is balanced. Art is burning, when it is great. The performance of Art, if it is to be scattered everywhere, must be mediocrity. Mediocrity will set nothing on fire—unless it be temper. Mediocrity is like damp sheets.

The way to distribute art is by creating great artistic achievement. Light a few fires in the country and raise these to incandescence. Select several centres; send the best this country can get all the year round to these centres. Arrange that the mayors and corporations and authorities should touch their hats all the time to this work—but deliver the goods—and the whole neighbourhood will rise and go to the fire. Other centres will ask "Cannot we be a bright spot"? Yes! in time. The sparks from these incandescent fires will fall far and wide. They will light any material—if it will burn. Mediocrity will light nothing.

The test of results is respect. Respect and true success go hand in hand. Respect must be demanded and this is a sensitive point. Respect can be thrown away stupidly. The public has other things to do and has not much judgment without the help of leaders. With the right purpose and clean hands respect can be earned and preserved. Success can be marred by not realizing this sequence. The artists and the management must not be the only persons to take trouble. The more trouble the public can be expected—and made—to take the better for them and for the results. The public as well as the artists must be made to burn.

This is the essence of the artistic structure. But there is a further side to it. Human beings and life are complex affairs. There are many who don't know if they are inflammable or in the extreme cases whether they are asbestos or not. Without any experience or with the wrong experience they may not notice the sparks. Perhaps they can be started with local candles of far lower temperature? It may be that the incandescent fires are too far off and that the sparks fall too seldom or are put out by other influences. Should there then be more incandescent fires or should there be more local candles? The fires can lead to the candles. Can the candles lead to the fires?

How much of the fires is waste? How much of the candles? The candles are easy to provide. The fires are difficult. Few results come accidentally. The work of the authorities must be based on men with the credentials and the experts must be kept sensible by being mixed with wise men of the world. Their function must be to evolve the schemes and choose the fires and their method must be primarily to extract results and then to pay for results and not for failures. A distributing agency will achieve nothing. Payment even if it comes first is essentially a secondary matter. Payment from what is in the purse is easy. The extraction of results is difficult. Well why not? We are ready to take trouble to achieve results, but we must know what we are doing.

An Open Letter to Paul Hirsch on His Seventieth Birthday

MY DEAR HIRSCH,

You and I have been friends for a good many years. I was, of course, well introduced in the first place by the fact that I was a bookseller. I rather fancy that those two words—bookseller and friend—have a certain synonymity in your mind. At any rate I treasure a large debt of gratitude to you for myself and for other members of my trade because you have been an unfailing and unstinted source of musicological and bibliographical knowledge, which has always been freely at our disposal.

When the Editor invited me to contribute to a *Festschrift* in celebration of your seventieth birthday I was honoured and delighted. I made up my mind that mine should be a personal tribute; and I decided that it should take the form of placing on record a service that you did me unwittingly some years ago, and of which you are probably unaware to this day.

You remember Max Pinette, the genial proprietor of the Lengfeld'sche Buchhandlung in Cologne! He married the daughter of old Ganz, the former proprietor, and as the son, Karl, had become a civil engineer, "Pino", as his friends called him, took over the business.

Dr. Kinsky was then living at Bonn, and it was he who persuaded Pino to dabble in first editions of music. This dabbling culminated in the preparation of the Lengfeld'sche Katalog 37, containing more than 1300 first and early editions of the masters of the romantic period. That catalogue is still a landmark in music bibliography, and the collection contained in it could certainly not be duplicated by a dealer today.

C. B. Oldman drew my attention to it, and, although I came to it very late in the day, it is evidence of the tardy appreciation of its value by collectors that I was still able and felt compelled to buy much more than I could afford. I had, in fact, called at Cologne as the first stopping-place on a book-buying tour of Germany; but my purchases at Lengfeld'sche were so heavy that I returned home at once to digest them. If I mention a few prices collectors will see at once what I mean. There was the signed first issue of Schubert's Op. 1, *Erkönig*, for £15; the first piano and vocal score of *Tristan*, for 12s., of *Fünf Gedichte* for 8s., and any number of other miscellaneous Wagner rarities costing from 5s. upwards. None of Brahms' first editions cost more than 12s., and of nearly 150 Schumann items the most expensive was the four-part song-cycle, *Myrthen*, Op. 25, which cost just over £1.

It was one of those rare occasions when both buyer and seller were entirely satisfied. Pino was delighted with a buyer who turned his catalogue from a comparative failure to a success; and I was overjoyed at the wealth of material I had so unexpectedly lighted upon. We became great friends, and the short trip to Cologne was frequently made whenever Pino turned up a new parcel of music. It is odd, now, when I come to think of it, that I hardly set foot in the

main shop in the Zeppelinstrasse. The door by which I entered was directly adjacent to the music section and beyond that I seldom strayed. I seem to be vaguely aware that the main business was in new books, and I believe I once bought some stationery there, but that was brought to me in Pino's office and I really remember only the one corner of the shop.

But this is only the prelude to my story, the next chapter of which concerns the advent of the Nazi Government. I frequently discussed his increasingly difficult position with Pino and concerted plans for helping him to get away, not entirely stripped of capital, for starting afresh in another country when the inevitable break should come. I had already been instrumental in smuggling out of the country fairly considerable assets for Jews who were leaving, and I urged upon Pino the desirability of acquiring one or two spectacular items of international importance, even if he had to pay too much for them, because it was better to get out a fragment of one's capital than to leave it all behind and have it confiscated. On his side he was fully aware of the peculiar advantages of his position in this respect, and we agreed that if any really sensational piece should turn up I would always be at his disposal on receipt of a harmless seeming telegram.

One day, in October 1936, the telegram arrived and was in the form we had agreed upon as meaning that I should come prepared to bring the article, whatever it was, back with me.

I had never travelled by air before, but, on looking up the schedule, I found that, by taking an early 'plane from Croydon in the morning, I could return the same day. Thus began a comedy of errors of which some details are worth relating. It began with my discovering, at Victoria, that I had left my passport behind. I telephoned to my wife, who was only just out of bed, and asked her to take a taxi from St. John's Wood, where we were then living, to Croydon airport bringing the passport with her. She arrived just as an official informed me that he could hold the 'plane no longer. My wife, in her turn, had brought no money with her, but, thinking that I should be home that evening, I gave her what I had, leaving myself only a few shillings for emergencies.

Pino met me at the airport in Cologne, but when we enquired after a place on the return 'plane they told us it was full. Urgent representations produced the information that there would be an unscheduled stop at Cologne by the 'plane from Vienna and that, as it was never full at this time of year, I could certainly rely on a seat in it. As it left three hours later than the one I had expected to take, however, I had to call my wife from Cologne to allay possible anxiety.

When we arrived at Pino's home he told me that he had acquired from the Wittelsbachs—the family of the former Kings of Bavaria—the original manuscript of Mozart's *Haffner* Symphony. It would, however, not be necessary for me to take it back with me, as a friend, travelling to Holland the day before, had taken it with him and would leave it in a bank in Rotterdam until I could take it over. What I could take would be the elaborate blue plush casket, heavily ornamented in silver, with the royal cipher and crown on the

lid, and lined in silk on which had been printed the history of the manuscript and of King Ludwig's acquisition of it.

This was therefore packed up and, in the gathering mist of evening, Pino drove me back to the airport. There was no sign of life; all the offices and buildings were closed; but, at last, an official caught sight of us and asked us what we wanted. When we told him he replied that the Vienna 'plane had stopped at Munich, because there were no passengers, and, as he did not know my address he had been unable to warn me. I borrowed some money from Pino, telephoned to London again, and found an hotel for the night. The next day I returned home with the casket.

The purchase price of the manuscript had been agreed between us, and, of course, no payment was to be made until Pino was free and had settled in another country. No documents were exchanged and there was no more confirmation of a contract running well into four figures in pounds, than a hand clasp.

It was many months before Pino was in a position to call for the money; in the meantime, Greville Worthington had come back into my business and he and I had acquired all the shareholdings. I knew that he was not an especially musical person, and I thought it my duty to tell him that I was already pledged to this considerable purchase. I offered, if he had any qualms about it, to make arrangements to assume personal financial responsibility for the whole amount; but he replied that, while his own opinion on the value and importance of such a manuscript was not worth having, if I thought it was all right that was good enough for him.

The time came when Pino was ready to be paid and we were at liberty to disclose our ownership. It is here, rather belatedly, that you, my dear Hirsch, enter the story.

You were among the first to ask to see it. You made it quite clear that you were not a purchaser, if only because you did not collect manuscripts, but only printed music: but, you said, you would consider it a great privilege and pleasure to be allowed to handle and examine it. I took the casket and its precious contents out of the safe and you spent the better part of an hour going over it.

When you got up to go you said to me "I suppose you want something like £5,000 for that".

"That is the value we have set on it", I replied. (Your judgment of values has always been almost uncannily accurate.)

"And right you are!" you said, "If I had such a sum to spare there are few things I would rather buy with it".

Then you went away, and as far as you were concerned I imagine that was the end of a rather pleasant interlude. But there was a sequel that you do not know and this seems to me a suitable place to recount it.

To make its point clear I ought perhaps to explain that Greville's only interest in music was in jazz. He used to boast that he had started buying gramophone records when he was at Eton, that he had never thrown one away, and that he had always replaced a worn out or broken one whenever possible.

After you had gone that day he turned to me and said, "You know, I was very relieved to hear Mr. Hirsch say what he did about that manuscript".

"You mean about its value, Grev.?" I said.

"Yes", he said. "Because after we'd paid for it I thought I ought to know *something* about a thing that had cost such a lot of money, and so I bought a set of gramophone records of the Symphony. I played them over and over again, and I really couldn't make head or tail of the thing.

"I never said a word to you about it, but my general conclusion, until Mr. Hirsch's visit today was 'Good God! To think we paid thousands for that!'"

I will add no gloss. But what I am grateful to you for is that your good-natured and encouraging remark did Worthington such a lot of good. He, poor chap, was unfortunately shot by a sentry during his turn of night duty as Security Officer at Dover.

Pino, after escaping from the Nazis in Brussels, was located by them again in France and hounded to death; and his wife died almost immediately afterwards.

Just to round the story off, I may add a postscript. When the war broke out I sent the *Haffner* manuscript for safe keeping, and possible sale, to Scribner's, in New York, who had acquired a financial interest in it.

I had better explain here that, on the afternoon of that tiresome and almost fruitless journey to Cologne, I had visited the Lengfeld'sche, and found Dr. Kinsky there. We had, of course, discussed the manuscript, and, at my request, he had run off on the typewriter a brief history and provenance of it. This he had signed, also on the typewriter, and this rather scruffy, and badly typed document, with a translation, had accompanied the manuscript to New York.

Early in 1940 the news came from Scribner's that they had a prospective purchaser lined up, but that he made it a condition of purchase that he should be supplied with the original Kinsky document. I replied, explaining that what they had was actually the original; but it soon began to look as though the sale would hang fire unless Kinsky's signature could be procured.

We were already at war with Germany, of course, but Belgium had not yet been invaded and Pino was still in Brussels. I therefore sent him a typed copy of Kinsky's document, begging him to move heaven and earth to get it signed. Within ten days it was in my hands. This was communicating with the enemy, I suppose; and certainly I must have evaded or broken any number of regulations. But I had secured the desired result; and no further impediment remained to delay the acquisition of a princely gift to Toscanini.

This story seems to me worth recording as a link in the history of a very famous manuscript; and I hope, dear Hirsch, that as a present on your seventieth birthday, this tiny link between you and it may prove a pleasant surprise.

With love from house to house.

Yours as ever,

PERCY H. MUIR

A Pastoral Opera by Alessandro Scarlatti

BY

EDWARD J. DENT

THE Fitzwilliam Museum acquired in 1918 the manuscript score of an Italian opera which had been sold to a dealer at the sale of the music library of the Earl of Aylesford in 1916; the manuscript was traced by Mr. Barclay Squire, bought and presented by the Friends of the Fitzwilliam. The Aylesford music collection was inherited from Charles Jennens, the friend of Handel; this manuscript is bound in vellum with the arms of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni and it is just conceivable that the Cardinal may possibly have given it to Handel when he was in Rome in the autumn of 1728. It has generally been said that Ottoboni's music library was acquired by the Vatican after his death, but perhaps the Vatican obtained only the sacred music; works with the Ottoboni coat of arms are to be found in many libraries, and these may have been dispersed by sale.

The opera has no title-page and no name of the composer, but at the end there is the inscription "Il Fine di Cent' Opere 7^{bre} 1710. L.D.M.V.". The music is undoubtedly in the autograph of Alessandro Scarlatti from beginning to end, including various alterations and cancellations. In 1925 Dr. Alfred Lorenz discovered the *libretto* of a hitherto unknown opera by Scarlatti in the Biblioteca Marucelliana (where there is a very large collection of *libretti*) at Florence, *La Fede Riconosciuta*, and from the extracts which he quotes in his book on the early operas of Scarlatti¹ it is clear that it is identical with the full score in the Fitzwilliam Museum. The *libretto* describes it as

"Dramma Pastorale per musica da rappresentarsi nel Teatro di S. Bartolomeo nell Autunno di 1710 per l'ingresso felice dell' Ill. e Ecc. Sig. Co. Carlo Borromeo consigliere di Stato . . . In Napoli per Michele Luigi Muzio 1710 . . . A stanza di Nicola Serino".

Serino was the manager of the royal opera house at Naples, and the dedication to Signora Donna Antonia Spinola is signed by him. He says there

sono sicuro, che non verrà disprezzata la comparsa di questo Pastorale divertimento, nel quale l'Autor della musica compisce il componimento di cento opere teatrali.

Further on, after the list of characters, we read "La musica è del Sig. Alessandro Scarlatti, maestro di Real Capella". The dedication is dated "Napoli 14 Ott. 1710".

The title *La fede riconosciuta* means "the promise redeemed", and the identical words "la fè riconosciuta" appear in the score at the very end of the opera when everything is cleared up. The handwriting of Scarlatti, the dates and the special mention of a hundred operas confirm the identity of score and *libretto*.

The work belongs to a type of comedy opera intermediate between heroic

¹ A. Lorenz, *Alessandro Scarlatti's Jugendoper*, 2 vols, Augsburg, 1927.

opera seria and Neapolitan *opera buffa* which has hitherto been little investigated. Historians of music do not often take the trouble to read *libretti* carefully, and this is hardly surprising when research covering a wide field has to be made on short visits to foreign libraries. Some of these *libretti* show the influence of Spanish drama, but the definitely pastoral type is descended from Guarini's famous pastoral play *Il Pastor Fido*. Comedy opera was very popular at Rome towards the end of the seventeenth century, and Scarlatti's very first operas are in this style. We find a few comedy operas amongst those of Handel (*Partenope* and *Serse*), but the dates of these must not be taken as evidence for the general duration of comedy opera; Handel utilized *libretti* of much earlier date, and in any case Handel's London operas stand outside the practice of Naples or of any other Italian city. *Deidamia* (1740), which is in the comedy style, has an original *libretto* by Paolo Rolli, but Rolli in this case was more probably influenced by Gay's ballad opera *Achilles in Petticoats* and not by any Spanish source.

In the older heroic operas we find definitely *buffo* characters, but they have no sentimental moments, and the heroic characters are always strictly serious. In the comedy operas the *buffo* characters are occasionally sentimental, and the serious characters are allowed to combine pathos with a sense of humour.

The author of the words of *La Fede Riconosciuta* is not named in the printed *libretto*. The scene is laid in Arcadia, and the characters are all nymphs and shepherds. The "nymphs" are not supernatural but human; in the *libretto* they are sometimes called shepherdesses (*pastorella*), but *ninfa* is the more usual, and presumably more polite designation. The literary style follows the "Arcadian" convention of the period, and so does the behaviour of the characters, but we must accept it for what it is, and within its convention—we must remember that it is specifically called a *divertimento*—its affectations have a certain "Dresden china" charm and grace, together with an agreeably humorous atmosphere. It suggests indeed a certain anticipation of *Così fan tutte*, and so does the music.

The characters are as follows:

Silvio	} shepherds of Arcadia	Soprano
Tirsi		Alto
Dorinda, a nymph of Elis, disguised as a shepherd under the name of Fileno		
Nicea	} nymphs of Arcadia	Contralto
Elpina		Soprano
Falcone, an old shepherd of Elis		Contralto
		Bass

(There is no chorus.)

Originally there was a seventh character, Aminta (soprano), apparently a young shepherd of Elis; but he was removed at a fairly early stage, and what remains of the scenes in which he took part has been cancelled in the score by Scarlatti himself. A few pages have been cut out altogether and the rest covered up with sheets of plain paper or cancelled with a pen; Scarlatti's own style of cancellation is clearly recognizable. All this was done before the score went to the binder. Whether the printed *libretto* shows any trace of Aminta

I do not know; Lorenz does not quote the cast in his book. He is alluded to later on for a moment, but Scarlatti seems to have overlooked these words. From what little we learn of him he would have caused some complications in the plot and would have been left nymphless at the final pairing-off of the other characters; Scarlatti was wise to eliminate him.

The exposition of the drama is very well managed. After a short overture Silvio and Tirsi are discovered in a "campagna deliziosa" quarrelling for the love of Nicea in a duet; Nicea enters and stops them from fighting. Nicea is a sportswoman, more interested in hunting than in love; Elpina, her friend, is not averse to love, but takes a thoroughly common-sense view of it. Nicea tells the shepherds that she will not have either of them, but both still hope to win her. They have heard that a shepherd from Elis has recently arrived, and they agree—for they are always more inclined to friendship than to fighting—to ask him to arbitrate between them.

Dorinda now appears, in male dress as "Fileno", escorted by Falcone, who is a bass *buffo*, but not so farcical as most of that type. Dorinda tells us that Silvio, three years earlier, came to Elis, won her heart and then deserted her; she has come to Arcadia to find him and avenge herself. Falcone thinks her rather rash and gives her good advice. Nicea and Elpina introduce themselves to "Fileno" and Falcone; Nicea, despite her protestations of having renounced love for sport, is attracted by "Fileno", and Elpina thinks that a flirtation with Falcone, despite his age, might be amusing. Falcone warns Dorinda that Nicea is going to fall in love, but Dorinda merely laughs at the idea.

The two shepherds enter, introduce themselves politely and ask "Fileno" to decide which of them is to win Nicea. Dorinda recognizes Silvio at once, but he does not recognize her. She allots Nicea to Tirsi, saying that she deserves a lover who will be faithful; Silvio, she thinks, has a doubtful look in his eye. She hints that Silvio once deserted a nymph in Elis; Silvio has a guilty conscience but assures her that to Nicea he will always be true. This is not quite what Dorinda wants. Silvio, left alone, admits having deserted Dorinda, but feels sure that by this time she must have married someone else; having accepted the arbitration, he would like to forget Nicea and console himself with another nymph, but cannot do so. The act ends with a comic love-scene between Elpina and Falcone—the usual *buffo* duet as the last scene of a first or second act.

Act II. The scene is a "gran selva". Tirsi now thinks he has a good chance and presses his suit on Nicea, but she tells him that she is desperately in love with "Fileno". She gets Elpina to approach Falcone and ask him to tell "Fileno" of her love; Falcone is rather amused and says he will do what he can for her. After a comic scene with Elpina he tells Dorinda about Nicea's passion; she says it must be encouraged for the time being, because if "Fileno" refuses her, she may, out of pique, refuse Tirsi and attach herself to Silvio. Dorinda is determined to get Nicea safely tied up with Tirsi in order to secure Silvio for herself. (At this point Dorinda mentions that Aminta is in love with her, and that she does not want him.) Dorinda tries to persuade Nicea

to accept Tirsi, but Nicea suspects that "Fileno" is jealous of Silvio, and Dorinda's dubious assurances only puzzle her the more. Silvio again makes love to Nicea, but she replies that she is in love with someone else. Tirsi tells Silvio that he is having no success, but Silvio assures him that Nicea is deeply in love with him. Silvio himself is beginning to think of suicide. Dorinda continues to work on his bad conscience by telling him that the nymph whom he deserted killed herself for love of him. She recommends him to be more faithful in future, but he only becomes more suicidal. Another comic scene for Elpina and Falcone ends the act.

Act III has no indication of scenery. The whole situation remains for a long time as before, only more intensified—Nicea more than ever in love with "Fileno" and putting off Tirsi with evasions. Elpina and Falcone have another comic love-scene, but Elpina is gradually beginning to take the flirtation seriously. Falcone tells Silvio that Dorinda killed herself with the dagger which Silvio had given her and produces it in proof. Silvio is now so determined to die himself that Falcone goes to fetch Dorinda to clear matters up. She has a long scene with Silvio, who expresses his repentance, after which she reveals herself and takes him to her arms. This however is by no means the end of the opera, Nicea and Elpina enter, to find Silvio embracing "Fileno"; Nicea is shocked and Elpina amused.

- Nic.* Che miro? il mio Filen abbraccia Silvio?
Qual stravaganza!
Elp. (aside) Questo sarà un amor Platonico.
Nic. Silvio, Fileno, addio!
Dor. Addio, bella Nicea!
Nic. Seguite i strani amori; avrò diletto
Di vedervi scherzar.
Elp. Che bella cosa, quando tra li pastori
V'è una pace si bella!

Dorinda now explains matters to Nicea and Elpina. Nicea takes some little time to grasp the situation, but finally embraces Dorinda and the two are caught in the act by Tirsi, who is furious. Falcone is surprised to find that Silvio is still alive. Tirsi has a great outburst of rage, culminating in an *aria*, but the others will not allow him to make his exit; both Nicea and Dorinda bewilder and tease him for a long time before he is made to understand. He blames his own jealousy, to which Dorinda philosophically remarks

- Tutti siamo rei di qualche error;
Commun e sia, come il fallir, anche il perdono.

The three couples pair off happily with a little *terzetto*.

Each act has about a dozen *arias* (including *ariosi* and duets) practically all of which are in *da capo* form; but none of them are long and the style shows great variety of expression, so that the perpetual *da capo* might almost pass unnoticed. If modern audiences find the *da capo aria* tedious, it is J. S. Bach who has given it a bad name; some of our modern critics might quite enjoy the longest *da capo arias* of Handel's operas, as our ancestors did, if they could only hear Senesino sing them. Scarlatti's are mostly as short as any of the

smaller songs of Schubert; if they were called *lieder* (and they are in what used to be called *lied*-form) they would be thought charming. Critics are often the slaves of words, and not in England alone.

The conventional operatic rules (derived probably from Apostolo Zeno), under which the order and distribution of *arias* was strictly regulated, do not apply to this opera, though it seems to conform to the unities of time and place. Scarlatti has no objection to giving a singer two *arias* in succession; Dorinda in the second act has three. All the *arias* are simple in style and there is not much in the way of elaborate *coloratura*. The compass, for all the voices, is restricted. Nicea (high soprano) has the most brilliant part, and her *tessitura* is high, but she does not go above A, and only rarely touches that note. Silvio never rises above G, though his part lies mostly high. The contralto parts seldom exceed, in either direction, the octave from middle C to the C above; Dorinda once lightly touches an E flat, but otherwise D is her extreme limit. On a first reading of the score it looked as if it had been composed for a private performance by amateurs, but the *libretto* shows that it was a professional production for an important occasion. The *arias* look easy to sing, but they need really good singing, with firm and steady tone and at the same time with great intensity of expression. Dorinda's part is at times deeply serious, though never what critics would call dramatic; she has no volcanic outbursts. The only approach to an eruption is in Silvio's "suicide" *aria* in Act III.

The three female parts correspond to a type frequently met with in opera of this date—they may be called "hard", "soft", and "sprightly". We find them in Handel's *Serse* and *Partenope*, and we can see the same types in Mozart's three Italian comic operas. Later opera reduced them to two—Musetta and Mimi—probably on grounds of expense.

Scarlatti's opera contains a great deal of *recitativo secco*, to which the modern conductor will certainly say, "of course we shall cut all that". It ought not to be cut, for it is cleverly written and often very amusing, as in *Così fan tutte*. I have attempted an approximate estimate of the duration of the opera, calculating with a metronome and of course choosing my own *tempi*; I reckon each act as a little under an hour (the second is the longest and the third the shortest), the whole taking about two hours and thirty-five minutes. I have taken crotchet = 100 as the average speed of *secco* recitative throughout, and suggest it as a suitable rate for comedy opera in general, at any rate in a small theatre.² The total time taken by recitative came out at 62 minutes, a little more than a third of the opera. The longest stretch was 118 bars, but this was exceptional. The longest *aria* I reckoned at four minutes; the others ranged between one and three-and-a-half (all *da capi* included).

² In view of the recent new production of *Don Giovanni* at Sadler's Wells, Mr. Tucker, Mr. Robertson and myself made independent calculations of the length, each choosing our own *tempi*; our estimates were within fifteen minutes of one another for the whole opera. To reckon up recitatives (both *secco* and accompanied) accurately was impossible, so I adopted the rate suggested above as a general average.

Scarlatti's recitatives must be taken at a natural comedy pace. It has become customary to punctuate *secco* recitative with chords played where the printer would put commas. (In Mr. Skimpole's case Dickens uses full stops.) Arnold's great book on Thoroughbass quotes no rule to this effect from any old teacher. In Scarlatti's recitatives the voice parts go straight on, the interlocutors taking up their cues quickly, often with not even a quaver's rest, and it looks as if they were intended to sing more or less in strict common time, the accompanist playing the chords as written. The only difficulty arises where there is a $\frac{6}{4}\frac{5}{3}$ cadence. If the voice ends the phrase (as very often) with tonic followed by dominant—e.g. C G over a bass G—there is no need to delay the cadence; C will harmonize with the $\frac{6}{4}$ and G with the $\frac{5}{3}$. Recitatives accompanied by strings in other works of Scarlatti show that this was his practice, and other cases suggest that he was quite ready to tolerate the discordant effect of a $\frac{6}{4}\frac{5}{3}$ played by strings against two quavers (in the voice part) on the tonic; and these might even be sung D C instead of C G, though the use of the *appoggiatura* in Scarlatti, especially in early Scarlatti, is a matter for scientific investigation, and cannot be left to what modern conductors or singers may think to be "tradition".

What I would point out is that if we sing these recitatives in pretty strict time and do not interrupt them with delayed chords, we shall avoid the perpetual intrusion of five-crotchet bars, and also secure more rapidity and continuity for the drama. The discordant effect mentioned above seems to my ear a small price to pay for it; it is no worse than the cadential clashes common in Corelli and Purcell, which cannot be evaded. A discreet harpsichordist can manage these clashes quite happily, but of course a star conductor letting off fireworks on a grand piano in operas of Mozart might not agree with me. And Scarlatti assumes that his singers can enunciate Italian words clearly at a natural speed, perhaps even take some interest in the drama which they are supposed to be acting. His harmonies to recitative move quickly too; a chord rarely lasts for more than a bar, and often there are two chords in a bar, and even crotchet movement. Rossini on the other hand will often hold a chord for five or six bars on end, and rarely considers (as Lully and Rameau also do, as well as Scarlatti) how the movement of the harmony may help to explain the significance of the words.

Scarlatti's contemporaries said that he was more at home in chamber music than in the theatre; he often gives the impression of being an introvert like J. S. Bach, not an extrovert like Handel. He loves *minutiae* of all kinds, he is mainly a man of the seventeenth century, not of the eighteenth, and his mind is ineradicably contrapuntal. We can even trace this in his handwriting; he composes the voice part first, with its bass, and seems to have the bass of an introduction ready before he writes the violin parts above it. He invariably writes his bass part in much larger notes than those of the other parts; he knows that the *continuo* instrumentalists will be sitting behind him at the harpsichord, playing from his own full score at an inconvenient distance from the book, perhaps with a poor light too. The double-bass player must have been indeed grateful for his practical thoughtfulness. If he uses the whole

string quartet he writes the first violin to begin with and then the second and the viola; the second violin constantly crosses the first (as often with Purcell) and seems to us moderns to spoil its melody, and the viola fits in where it can. If the strings are in four parts, they are always independent of the voice; he never for a moment doubles the voice part with an instrument. But it is only rarely that he writes for quartet; that is reserved for special occasions. In this opera there are no *arias* with *continuo* alone. Some have violins in unison, others violins in unison with an independent viola; there are none for two violins without viola, and the viola is never marked *col basso* as so often in Pergolesi and his generation. But the viola does sometimes double the violoncello, with the violins as well, in passages where the basses and harpsichord leave off altogether. Like Purcell, Scarlatti is never afraid of three-part or even two-part harmony. If we are rash enough to add a viola part to Purcell's two violins and bass, we shall spoil his effect and make his music as stodgy as Bach's. Some modern conductors seem to think that all "old music" ought to sound like Bach, and some modern critics think that to say "quite like Bach" is the highest compliment to pay to composers from whom Bach himself was glad to learn a lesson.

Modern composers are more at their ease with the orchestra than with voices: Scarlatti shows the opposite cast of mind. The date of Vivaldi's birth is not known, but he certainly belonged to a younger generation than Scarlatti, and it is only in this later generation that we see a handling of the orchestra, however small, that looks forward to Mozart and Beethoven. Handel does sometimes write violin parts in a regular pattern of repeated *arpeggio* figures; in Scarlatti such things are practically never to be found. It is characteristic of him that even if he occasionally writes repeated quavers in the bass, or repeated semiquavers in the violin parts, he writes out every note; *simili* marks and abbreviations are unknown to him. I recently had to try to find out who first wrote a minim with a stroke through the stem to signify four quavers on the same note; but I have not yet been able to do so. I should suspect some Italian opera composer or copyist of about 1740 or later. There is no trace of it in the autographs of Vivaldi's concertos recently reproduced in facsimile by the Accademia Chigiana.

Very characteristic of Scarlatti is the use, especially in comic scenes, of a scratchy little violin figure such as three semiquavers preceded by a semiquaver rest and followed by a crotchet or two quavers, the accent falling often on the odd beat of a bar. He likes to bring it in once in a bar only, for several bars in succession; it does not support the voice but comments on it like a gesture. A modern composer would give it to the xylophone, but as soon as opera became commercialized managers cut down the expenses of an orchestra as a first economy; for Scarlatti, as indeed for Handel in London, the main burden of accompaniment falls on the harpsichord, violoncello and bass. The violins are decorative instruments, patches of colour, not a standard background. Their business is to contrast with the voices, like the flutes and trumpets when the manager can afford them. Only two wind instruments appear in this opera; in Act II Dorinda has an *aria* with a flute, while the strings play a

rippling accompaniment—the words begin “*Al mormorar del rio*”—and Tirsi’s indignant *aria* towards the end of Act III has an oboe to play a florid part against the string quartet. The oboe is also directed to play in unison with the violins (in unison) in the final short *terzetto*. The flute never appears again. In Act I Dorinda has an air with two solo violins besides the quartet, and in Act III both she and Tirsi have *arias* with a solo violoncello, all the violins playing in unison; the violoncello however has very little of a solo part and a good deal of the bass to play.

The Overture consists of a short (but not military) march movement, followed by eleven bars *andante* in 3/4 leading to a lively *gigue* in which the violins play in unison. Scarlatti must have counted on good viola players, for he very often makes them play an indispensable middle part against all the violins in unison. So does Handel; audiences of those days liked their melody to stand out prominently, and it was good enough to deserve prominence and hold its own against counterpoint.

Could this opera be revived? Not in concert-room snippets, I hope. It is a light-hearted entertainment and no more; its only object is enjoyment. It needs the stage, with lively acting and pretty costumes and scenery; it is an opera for young singers, apart from the role of Falcone which demands a fruity voice and style. It goes without saying that if it is revived in this country it must be neatly translated and sung in English, though the translation calls for a second John Gay or Isaac Bickerstaffe. Would a modern audience endure a whole evening of Arcadian love-making? That will depend upon the intelligence of those who have the courage to undertake a production.

Handel's Agrippina (1709)

PROBLEMS OF A PRACTICAL EDITION

BY

HANS F. REDLICH

NEARLY twenty years have passed since the term "Aufführungspraxis" began to crop up in the argument of musical scholars. At that time two books appeared¹ almost simultaneously, both entirely devoted to a classification, historic delimitation and systematic exploitation of that term, which has since then been incorporated into the vocabulary of western scholarship.² A. Schering and R. Haas—the authors of these two volumes—endeavoured (widely supported by younger musicologists) to make scholars, practical performers and interested laymen alive to the fundamental truth that the original source of any composition conceived before 1800 *ca.*, cannot be trusted literally and that it requires to be reconstructed methodically on the basis of the practical performing usage of its period. Here as elsewhere theory seems to limp sadly behind practical musicianship. The courageous "realizations" of Monteverdi's three main operas by Vincent d'Indy³ as well as the revival of Handel's operas inaugurated by Oskar Hagen in Göttingen from 1920 onwards and supported for a decade by some distinguished German scholars,⁴ had preceded the two publications mentioned above, by from ten to twenty-five years. But the appearance of these volumes did much to discipline the activities of younger scholars in the direction of a thorough investigation of the treatises on musical practice of different epochs and to focus their interest on the important problem: how to interpret the printed or autograph *res facta* of an original in the light of the performing tradition, the instrumental usages and the technical peculiarities of each instrument and finally of the aesthetic principles governing the ever changing relationship between voice and instrument. The special problems of notation (tablatures) and ornamentation should of course be added to this still incomplete list. It was under the impact of this revolutionary idea that the present writer embarked on his own practical editions of Monteverdi's operas *La favola d'Orfeo*, *L'Incoronazione di Poppea* and of his liturgical composition *Vespro della Beata Vergine*, two of which have become widely known in this country.⁵ The vocal scores of these editions endeavour to combine faithfulness to the spirit of Monteverdi's originals (none of which is preserved in an autograph manuscript) with a free interpretation of Monteverdi's letter. Twenty years ago, when "Complete Editions" were not so easily accessible as to-day and when the rules of the

¹ A. Schering: *Aufführungspraxis aller Musik*, Leipzig, 1931. Robert Haas: *Aufführungspraxis der Musik* (Bücker Handbuch), Potsdam, 1931.

² Willi Apel: *Harvard Dictionary of Music*, London, 1946. Cf. article on page 61.

³ *Orfeo* (1905), *Incoronazione* (1904), *Ritorno d'Ulisse* (1927).

⁴ H. Roth, H. J. Moser and others, cf. R. Haas, *op. cit.*, p. 194 ff.

⁵ *Orfeo* (perf. Zürich 1936, still MS.), *Incoronazione di Poppea* (compl. 1939, perf. London 1948, publ. 1951, UE, Vienna), *Vespers* of 1610 (compl. 1934, first perf. 1935, publ. 1949, UE, Vienna).

"stylistic game" were less widely known, the suggestions of Haas, Schering and their supporters were adopted with alacrity by students and performers alike—a happy development, only destined to suffer a grievous interruption by the outbreak of war in 1939. Meanwhile the situation has changed on both sides of the Atlantic. Western scholarship has pushed ahead and has overtaken the Germans in many respects. Complete editions (CE) of half forgotten composers of the past, especially from the period between 1594 and 1750 (*i.e.* approximately marked by the death of Palestrina, Lassus and J. S. Bach) are now available or have been started on a large scale.⁶

To-day the pendulum has swung almost completely to the other side, with conductors and performers trying to ignore the findings of scholars in favour of "complete" and therefore "faithful" renderings of the "original score" (whatever the latter may happen to be). This is specially the case with composers of the early and late Baroque, such as Monteverdi and Handel, both enjoying a new vogue of popularity and both easily accessible in the volumes of their respective CE.⁷ This attitude has resulted in performances of works by these composers in which performers deliberately ignored available practical editions, basing their execution on the "original source" as reprinted in the respective CE and dispensing with all additional embellishments, instrumental ornamentation, orchestral re-grouping according to the usage of the period and—last but not least—dispensing with the paramount principle of *selective* movements by performing these works entirely without cuts.⁸ In the cases of both Monteverdi and Handel the beauty of the original and its persuasive simplicity of texture should not blind the modern performer to the fact that he is here confronted with a flimsy sketch of the musical contours only, written down in the abbreviations of a musical shorthand (*i.e.* in *Basso Continuo* notation). A thorough reconstruction and musical implementation will be necessary even in cases where the musical *res facta* seems complete at a first glance (choral sections of Monteverdi's *Vespers*, 1610, the "scored" sections in Monteverdi's *Orfeo* edition of 1609, the seemingly completely scored vocal items in many of Handel's operas), and not only in those cases where the "original source" is reduced to one or two meagre staves only (*cf.* wide tracts of Monteverdi's *Poppea* and *Ulissee* of 1641/42, many *arias* in Handel's operas and oratorios, *e.g.* our following discussion of his *Agrippina*),⁹ from which conductors and performers often cook up something drastic in their own way and mostly at the last minute. The terse individuality of Monteverdi's Venetian operas has by now convinced the majority of performers, but not all, that only a fully reconstructed and implemented practical score can guarantee a comprehensive and convincing reproduction of the composer's musical intentions. The case of Handel, starting as an Italian opera composer in

⁶ *Cf.* the CE of Ockeghem, Dufay, Monteverdi, Carissimi, Vivaldi, Pergolesi, Haydn, either complete or in progress.

⁷ Monteverdi CE (ed. Malipiero), 1926/42, 17 vols. Handel CE (ed. Chrysander), Leipzig, 1859/1902.

⁸ Such inartistic readings of J. S. Bach's *Passions* and oratorios can still be encountered on both sides of the Channel.

⁹ *Cf. Agrippina, Aria di Pallade*, Act II, Sc. 14, "Col raggio piaciuto".

Venice more than 60 years after Monteverdi, Cavalli, Manelli and Sacrati, is somewhat different, not least because of the greater elaboration and seeming completeness of a Handel score of 1709 as compared with a Cavalli score of 1641.¹⁰ The Renaissance of Handel the opera composer, initiated by Oskar Hagen and his supporters, unfortunately tried too hard to reshape Handel's originals to the standard of modern taste (1920), thereby submitting the slow-moving *libretti* of Handel, with their lumbering recitative and contemplative *arias*, to drastic cuts and transpositions in the interest of a kind of expressionist dramatization. While Hagen's movement undoubtedly fostered interest in Handel's operatic achievements, it equally failed to give a faithful picture of Handel's original musico-dramatic conception. A more critical approach to these Handel editions has now led German performers in the opposite direction,¹¹ with their present performances relying on the letter of Chrysander's Handel CE, producing equally unsatisfactory results. Fortunately a younger German scholar has made the opera of the later Baroque the chief object of his research since 1932. In a spate of books, papers and lectures¹² Hellmuth Christian Wolff has thoroughly explored every avenue of "Aufführungspraxis" with special regard to Handel's operas, and in his recently published edition of the early Venetian opera *Agrippina*¹³ he has put his theories and the results of his painstaking studies to a supreme test.

Handel's *Agrippina*, composed presumably in 1708 on a *libretto* by Vincenzo Grimani (itself based on a subject of Roman history) is one of the most momentous works in his career as an opera composer. Its success in Venice, on 26th December, 1709, was instantaneous and sensational, turning its creator into a world celebrity and establishing his supremacy as a composer of operatic music, at once passionate and popular, everywhere in Italy. Based on a text in which some of the figures of Monteverdi's *Incoronazione* recur, it combines typical Handelian grandeur with the lighter effects of future *opera buffa*. Despite its strong indebtedness to Keiser's *Octavia* (1706) and Mattheson's *Cleopatra* (1704) it was praised by the critical Mattheson as the greatest operatic event of its day—an opinion borne out by the fact that the opera was subsequently successfully staged at Naples, Vienna and Hamburg (between 1713 and 1719).

Agrippina was already available in the reprint of Arnold's Handel edition of 1787/97 (revised in 1802), of which Chrysander had but a poor opinion, when he himself issued a further reprint of the work in Vol. 26 of his CE (1874). The *libretto* of Dr. Wolff's new edition is based on a German translation of the Italian original, but it reproduces in the vocal score the words of Grimani's

¹⁰ Any conductor of *Messiah* knows how misleading this apparent completeness is and how many crucial problems, even in so popular a work as this, remain unsolved.

¹¹ Recent performances under G. M. D. Lehmann, Göttingen.

¹² H. Chr. Wolff's main publications on the subject are: *Die venezianische Oper in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1937; *Agrippina—ein italienische Jugendoper Handels*, Wolfenbüttel-Berlin, 1943; "Die Darstellung der Händel-Oper", *Allgm. Musikzeitung*, Berlin, Oct. 1935, 62. Jahrg. No. 40; "Die Aufführungspraxis der Barockoper", *Neues Musikblatt*, Schott, Mainz, März 1943 (22. Jahrg. No. 85); *Agrippina*—bearbeitet und ins Deutsche übersetzt von H. Chr. Wolff, vocal score and libretto, Kassel (Bärenreiter), 1950.

¹³ First performed at the Handel Festival of Halle, 1943, and subsequently at the Handel Festival of Göttingen, 1944.

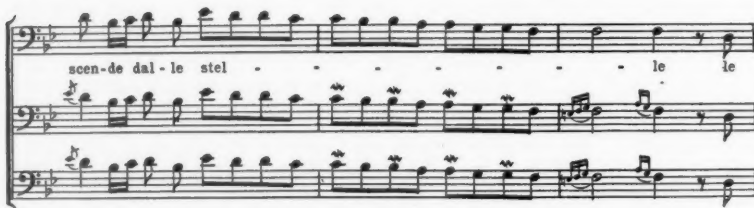
libretto in addition to the German words in all vocal items except recitatives. These, in German only, necessarily differ in details of rhythm and melodic contour from the musical text of the CE. They would have to be refashioned musically for any English performance. But in all concerted numbers, despite the difficulties caused by a German translation, the vocal line of the original has been kept intact and, what is more, that line shows for the first time in the history of the Handel-Renaissance, all the additional embellishments and ornaments which are absolutely obligatory, especially for the *da capo* sections of the Handel *aria* in general. This should be a revelation to any modern Handel performer, who will also ultimately have to revise his vocal parts in *Messiah*, once he has been persuaded to adopt Dr. Wolff's editorial principles. Here are two juxtapositions of the original and the practical edition, showing in the latter case the versions for the first and for the *da capo* part of the *aria*:

Ex. 1

Original

I
Wolff
edition

Da Capo



Ex. 2

Original

Wolff
Cadenza

Da Capo

sa bocca amo-ro

sa bocca amo-ro

sa bocca amo-ro

In addition to these scrupulously and tastefully applied additional vocal ornaments Dr. Wolff publishes opposite page 7 of his vocal score a table of typical ornaments together with their exact manner of execution, which should come as a godsend to many Handel singers if they will only take the trouble to collate this preliminary list of embellishments with its practical application in the vocal numbers of this edition of *Agrippina*.

However, Dr. Wolff's editorial care for ornamentation has not been confined to vocal parts alone. The two empty bars towards the end of the Overture are a vital case in point (*i.e.* 5 bars before the final original indication, *Adagio*, in Chrysander's CE, page 6). These, obviously, are meant to be used as "points d'appui" for a more elaborate instrumental cadence. In Dr. Wolff's edition the first of these two empty bars has given way to the following ingenious solution for harpsichord solo, which is based on models of Handel's famous improvisations on that instrument, written down by the English harpsichordist W. Babell and later published in vol. 48 of the CE:

Ex. 3

Original

Wolff
p. ii

(Tutti)

(Tutti)

(Harp. Solo)

(Tutti)

Another difficult problem confronting any editor of Venetian operas written between 1637 and 1750, is the necessary re-casting of some of the vocal parts, destined to be sung by the so-called contralto castrato. The present writer tried to solve that problem in his edition of Monteverdi's *Orfeo* by re-writing the title part (originally designed for the eunuch Gualberto Magli and written in the tenor clef) for a baritone, sung by Heinrich Rehkemper at the Zürich performances of 1936: and by using a counter-tenor (Alfred Deller) for 1948 London performances of his edition of *Poppea*, where the part of Ottone is designed for a male alto (written in mezzo-soprano clef) in Monteverdi's original. Similar considerations have led Dr. Wolff to recast the figure of Ottone (male alto) for a lyrical baritone in bass clef. This of course entailed considerable instrumental re-grouping for Ottone's principal *recitativo accompagnato* and *aria* ("Otton, Otton" and "Voi che udite", CE, Act II/Sc. 5). The original score accompanying the male alto provides for oboe, viol. I/II, viola, basso and B.C. instruments. In Dr. Wolff's edition (No. 22, page 116) they are replaced by cor anglais, strings, theorbo and doublebass in accordance with the gravitational tendency towards the bass region caused by the change in the *tessitura* of the soloist. Yet, even without such drastic adjustments, necessitated by the limited choice of vocal types available to-day, the demands on the singer in Handel's original vocal parts remain formidable, as may be gathered from the following quotation from Claudius' *aria* (Wolff, No. 19):

Ex. 3a



A characteristically archaic feature of Handel's score, linking it with the earlier Venetian operas, is the number of *arias* in which the instrumental accompaniment is confined to one stave only, as for instance in Lesbo's *aria* "Allegrezza" (Act I/Sc. 10) and also Poppea's "Fu quanto voi" (Act I/Sc. 19), in both of which "Bassi" (without B.C. figures) form the only accompaniment and only the instrumental *postludia* are to be executed by the complete band of strings. A similar feature may be observed in Poppea's "Bel piacere" (Act III/Sc. 10), famous for its metric irregularities (3/8 and 2/4 beat alternating) in which the singer is accompanied by "Violini tutti senza oboe" and without any fundamental bass (except in the *ritornello* section). Such experiments, amply bearing out Dr. Wolff's *dictum* that nothing could be more inappropriate in the opera of the Venetian Baroque than a uniform and continuous *Basso Continuo* accompaniment with full chordal treatment, require skilful handling from editor and performer alike. An extreme case is surely reached in Pallante's *aria* (Act II/Sc. 14) "Col raggio piacido", where "Violini unisoni" and "Bassi" actually double the vocal line, resulting in a kind of continuous *ostinato*, anticipating the dramatic unison effects in the symphonies of the Viennese classics and probably influenced by the long unison tracts in Vivaldi.

Ex.4 Violin unis

Original

Pallante

Bass

col rag-gio piaci-do del-la spe-ran-za la mi-a co-stan-za lu singhi in me etc

That Handel actually silenced the harpsichord for colouristic purposes may be gathered from the interesting remark of the original on the occasion of Ottone's *arioso* "Vaghe fonti" (Act II/Sc. 7) which runs as follows "Bassi pizzicati senza Cembalo". Besides violins I/II/III, the Lullian "violetta" and basses, Handel's original provides for oboes, recorders (flauti dolci), trumpets, timpani and harpsichord. These instruments repeatedly act in different combinations in order to produce a variety of effects; strings are muted, or treated as "soli", oboes and strings are split up into solo and *ripieno* groups in accordance with the usage of the Concerto Grosso (cf. Nero's *aria* "Come nube che fugge", Act III/Sc. 11), the solo oboe is used "imitando la voce" in Agrippina's emotional *arioso* "Pensieri" (Act II/Sc. 13) and recorders are combined with muted strings to form a delicious orchestral *ensemble*. In Dr. Wolff's edition this orchestra is further enriched by harp, theorbo and doublebass.

The special questions posed by the recitative have received careful treatment from Dr. Wolff who has endeavoured to infuse their texture with as much dramatic colour as possible, using *acciaccatura* as well as a more incisive rhythmical treatment of the final cadences, as may be seen in the following examples. The *acciaccatura*, one of the most frequent ornaments in harpsichord music, especially between 1670 and 1726 *ca.*, calls (according to W. Apel's lucid commentary, *op. cit.*, page 7) "for the lower second of the normal note to be simultaneously struck and immediately released". The term itself means literally "crush" and the effect provided ample feeling of dissonance especially during long stretches of "tedious recitative". Unfortunately this device is very unpopular with some of our performers of to-day, whose misguided sense of stylistic purity shrinks back horrorstruck at the aspect of chords such as the following:

Ex.5

Original

B.C.

Wolff

B.C.

A mi-ci al sen ti stringo oh co-me vo-lon-tie-ri

That chords such as those marked by an asterisk and (even more so) chords tied over several bars, should not be played as sustained chords (as written), is emphasized in a footnote to Dr. Wolff's vocal score, giving advice from D. G. Türk's *Anweisung zum Generalbassspielen*, Leipzig, 1800, who expressly remarks, in section 232 of his treatise, that B.C. lines such as the following should be executed as short notes, unless their sustained character is expressly marked by the added word "tenuto".

Ex. 5a



As regards the final cadence, usually deliberately procrastinated in modern performances for reasons of "style", these are rhythmically speeded up in Wolff's edition, based on the findings of Max Schneider¹⁴ as well as on the precepts of C. P. E. Bach's *Versuch über die wahre Art, das Clavier zu spielen* and J. H. Quantz' equally important treatise *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (1752).¹⁵ Quantz' example has undoubtedly served as a model for Dr. Wolff's own treatment of final cadences throughout *Agrippina*:

Ex. 6

That the chords marked with an arrow in the foregoing example are usually played *after* the singer has finished is well known. It should be added that —according to Dr. Wolff's findings—the player of the solo violoncello part used two different instruments in the operas of the later Baroque: a smaller one and weaker strung, for the "Soli" (i.e. for the *basso continuo* part as well) and a bigger one, with thicker strings, for the "Tutti".

Dr. Wolff's added vocal embellishments are firmly based on the study of contemporary treatises such as Bailly's *L'art de bien chanter* (Paris, 1667/79) and Carlo Broschi-Farinelli's vocal embellishments to 42 arias of his repertoire (published in modern reprint by F. Haböck in his *Die Gesangkunst der Kastraten*, Beispieldband, UE, Wien, 1923). A detailed study of Burnacini's

¹⁴ Cf. Gluck *Jahrbuch*, 1927.

¹⁵ Cf. the reprints of both treatises, Leipzig, 1926 and 1927.

décor to operas of the later 17th century (especially Cesti's *Pomo d'oro*, Vienna, 1667) has led him to the conclusion that many of those arias adorned with elaborate orchestral *ritornelli* and postludes (cf. *Agrippina*, "Se vuoi pace", Act III/Sc. 14), must have been interpreted in terms of dance and pantomime—in the sense of Feuillet's five classic ballet positions (cf. his *Chorégraphie*, Paris, 1699)—by the singers themselves.¹⁶

If the *res facta* alone confronts the editor with many a puzzling question, the many actual gaps left in the opera scores of the 17th and early 18th century provide him with perhaps his biggest headache.

In the case of *Agrippina* the editor had to provide for a small trumpet piece (Wolff, No. 6a), which is calmly indicated in Handel's original by the sentence "si sente suono di Trombe", besides adding the music for the final ballet (indicated in the original by the terse "avis au lecteur", "segue il Balli") which he took from Handel's earlier opera *Rodrigo* (Florence, 1707).¹⁷ The editor also added orchestral preludes to acts II and III, taken from Handel's Concerto Grosso No. 2 and from his violin Concerto "Sonata" of 1710 respectively. Although they fit excellently into the musical texture of *Agrippina*, their use is of course optional as is Dr. Wolff's selection of arias, of which he has certainly retained the greatest part in his score. His few cuts are very much to the advantage of the dramatic cohesion of the opera, whatever the modern fanatic admirers of "uncut" performances may have to say.

Embellishments, improvised by singers and players like, were as much part and parcel of the "Aufführungspraxis" in an opera of the Baroque as were inserted pieces, either taken from other operas of the composer or even from works of other composers as well. That Handel was an inveterate borrower is universally known and that the scores of Carissimi and Stradella celebrated a belated resurrection in his oratorios has been pointed out by many scholars ever since the days of Burney and Hawkins. Chrysander traced 14 items of this *Agrippina* back to earlier works of Handel himself.¹⁸ Dr. Wolff has considerably added to that list of borrowings by locating Keiser's opera *Octavia* (Hamburg, 1706) as the source of six *Agrippina* numbers. The subject of the *fugato* in the Overture is taken from Mattheson, who has also provided the final chorus of Handel's opera (cf. Wolff's edition, No. 41) with music, taken from his own final chorus to his opera *Cleopatra* (Hamburg, 1704), a performance of which—as any Handel student knows—led to the famous duel between the composers. Viewed in the light of this strongly improvisatorial practice, the elastic character of the whole score becomes evident and the suggestions, additions and omissions offered by Dr. Wolff look modest enough. They certainly leave ample room for different solutions, but they surely indicate the only right way to an interpretation of Handel's opera, at once scholarly and alive. Dr. Wolff's edition should cause a lot of heart-searching among Handel performers on both sides of the Channel and should ultimately lead to a renewed and invigorated approach to the problem of "Handel in our time".

¹⁶ Cf. H. Chr. Wolff, "Die Darstellung der Handel-Oper", 1935.

¹⁷ Cf. Wolff's edition, No. 40 ff., p. 220.

¹⁸ Cf. H. Chr. Wolff, *op. cit.* 1943, p. 33 ff.

The Opera Concerts of 1795

BY

MARION M. SCOTT

Most of Haydn's biographers have mentioned that the fourth season of concerts at which he appeared during his London sojourns did not, like the earlier ones, take place at the Hanover Square Rooms but at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket,¹ and that their name was changed from "Mr. Salomon's Concerts" to the "Opera Concerts". The history behind this change has never been made clear. C. F. Pohl, in his book *Haydn und Mozart in London*, was as usual the most informative. He said that owing to the condition of things on the Continent Salomon found himself obliged, with sincere regret, to discontinue his concerts, and that as a professional musician Salomon wished well to the new undertaking at the Opera. Pohl, however, seemed too informative when he (or an early translator) made the statement in his "Haydn" article in Grove's *Dictionary*, that "In 1795 Salomon announced his concerts under a new name and place, 'the National School of Music', in the King's Concert-room, recently added to the King's Theatre".

Now these two accounts contradicted each other. Did Salomon, or did he not give the Opera Concerts? If he did not, then who was responsible? This was a case of Pohl *v.* Pohl and it could only be settled by going back to the original sources. So to the British Museum I went and consulted the portion of the Burney collection of newspapers covering the years 1794-95—a hunt I personally found delightful but which I suspect the long-suffering staff of the North Library would have liked to describe by an antonym beginning with a D as large as the mammoth volumes they were obliged to handle.

After pursuing my way through the tomes for 1794 I arrived at *The Oracle and Public Advertiser* for Friday, 16th January, 1795, the paper which Pohl had quoted. There, cheek by jowl at the top of the front page, stood the advertisement of the first Opera Concert and Salomon's open letter. The two were evidently intended to be read together. I found a special pleasure in doing this from Dr. Burney's own copy. So much is explained by Salomon's announcement that it shall be quoted first, though it came second in *The Oracle*. It is headed "Hanover Square, January 12, 1795", which apparently refers to the Hanover Square Rooms, scene of his many triumphs with Haydn, and it then proceeds thus:—

"Mr. Salomon respectfully presents his acknowledgments to the Nobility and Gentry who have hitherto done him the honour to support his Concert; he feels the most lively sentiments of gratitude for the protection which they gave him in the arduous undertaking; and it is with real regret that he is under the necessity, from circumstances which he has it not in his power to control, to decline the farther continuance of the establishment.

¹ It stood on the site of the present His Majesty's Theatre.

"In the present situation of affairs on the Continent, Mr. Salomon finds it impossible to procure from abroad any Vocal Performers of the first talents, but by the influence of terms which an undertaking like his could by no means authorize him to offer; and it would be a presumption, of which he is incapable, to solicit the patronage of the Nobility and Gentry to an inferior entertainment. It was an essential object in his original undertaking to promote the character of the profession by the union of its most splendid talents; and, he flatters himself, that he speaks the sense of the best Connoisseurs when he presumes to say, that in his essays he succeeded to an extent that gave unprecedented distinction to the Concert. At the present moment, therefore, when from circumstances incompatible with a single and circumscribed undertaking he is obliged to relinquish his favourite idea, he is happy to find a cordial disposition to take up and further the plan of a National School of Music, becoming the taste and grandeur of this Kingdom, in a quarter which necessarily possesses the means for that purpose.

"As a professional man he wishes well to the new establishment of a grand and regular Concert at the Opera; to which, from the exclusive union of all the talents of the Theatre, a foundation would be given that no other undertaking could equal; and which is further to be supported by many eminent masters, whom in a very liberal and handsome manner he is invited to join, that they may unite their efforts for its perfection.—Mr. Salomon hopes that his labours have not been altogether useless, if they have tended to give rise to an institution which promises so much in favour of his art; and the Nobility and Gentry, his subscribers, will not lament to see the powers of the most splendid of his associates combined with talents worthy of their union.

"Mr. Salomon owes too many obligations to Dr. Haydn to suffer this opportunity to pass without offering him his public acknowledgments for the advantages he derived from his unparalleled genius, and which he is happy to say, is not to be left unexerted in the service of the Public. To Mr. Viotti, and to all the other Professors, who honoured him with their assistance, he returns also his grateful thanks, and rejoices to find, that all, equally animated by the love of the Profession, cheerfully enter into the arrangement that has been formed."

This is a human document, besides being most illuminating. It settles the question beyond doubt that Salomon was not responsible for the Opera Concerts, and his remark that they were organized "in a quarter which necessarily possesses the means for that purpose" points directly to the King's Theatre, Haymarket. His words also make it plain that the reasons compelling him "to relinquish his favourite idea" were financial, and not (as one biographer has suggested) because "perhaps the whole matter had lost some of its attraction when there was no rival to fight". In point of fact Salomon was between the Scylla of a public which demanded famous singers, even when it had the celebrated Haydn, and the Charybdis of singers who demanded fees too exorbitant to be paid. Pohl does not quote that bit of information: he may have thought it derogatory to the Continental vocalists, and in any case he knew little about the difficulties attendant on wars. But we can see that in 1794-95 European travelling could not have been guaranteed as safe, even for civilians, since England and France were at war, the Terror had but recently ended in France, and the French had over-run and annexed the Austrian Netherlands.

On the subject of a National School of Music Salomon's document solves another puzzle. By that name he evidently meant an artistic group such as we mean when we talk of the Dutch School of painters or the Viennese School

of composers, but owing to the bewilderments of the English language translated into German by Pohl one at least of Haydn's biographers (Tenschert) has transformed this into "einer neugegründeten Musiklehranstalt".

Another thing that emerges from Salomon's document is his strong sense of the dignity of the musical profession and its Professors—as the professionals were then called. He and Haydn must have discussed these matters of status, for Haydn had certainly considered them in 1791 when the degree of Doctor in Music was conferred on him at Oxford.

But the final impression left by Salomon's announcement is of the extraordinary elegance and purity of his eighteenth-century English. The more one reads the words the less probable does it seem that this literary product was an unaided effort of his pen. A German by birth and residence Salomon was thirty-six when he first settled in London in 1781 and though he obviously became fluent in the language of his adopted country his life as a professional musician could hardly have left him time to master the finer cadences, the exact choice of words and the elegantly flowing literary style here apparent. Nor was Salomon likely to gain such English from Sir John Gallini, the strange Italian adventurer who came to England as a dancing-master, raised himself to importance as director of Drury Lane Theatre, part-founder and later sole owner of the Hanover Square Rooms, husband of Lady Elisabeth Bertie (sister of that Earl of Abingdon who was a great amateur of music), as the recipient of an English knighthood, and as the guiding hand, under the proprietor William Taylor, of the King's Theatre, Haymarket. No—the authorship most probably lay with Lord Abingdon or with Dr. Burney himself. I favour the Burney hypothesis. The good Doctor can so frequently be glimpsed moving in the wings, as it were, where Haydn was concerned. Indeed, it is even possible that Burney, with Salomon and Gallini, had the bright idea of the Opera Concerts themselves.

Turning from Salomon's declaration to the advertisement of the Opera Concerts one finds that:—

"The Nobility and Gentry are respectfully informed, that there will be, in the Great Room of this Theatre Nine Concerts by Subscription to be held every Monday Fortnight, commencing on Monday the 2nd of February next. It will be the study of the Proprietor to combine the most eminent talents, Vocal and Instrumental, now in England."

So the proprietor, William Taylor, was the man ultimately responsible in this scheme. He was as typical an eighteenth-century theatre magnate as Gallini was an impresario, and Michael Kelly, in his reminiscences, makes many lively allusions to Taylor "who was a great joker". Perhaps the best tale is of the time when Taylor's house was watched day and night by bailiffs waiting to arrest him for debt, and Kelly, cutting a hole in a party wall, rescued him through the adjoining house, and marched him out unrecognized by the bailiffs. But in regard to the Opera Concerts, it is Taylor who figures as the rescuer of Haydn and Salomon.

The advertisement gives a list of the artists.

"*Composers* Dr. Haydn, Mr. Martini, Mr. Bianchi, and Mr. Clementi. From whom there will be at least two New Pieces of Music for each Concert. *Vocal Performers*

Madame Banti, Madame Morichelli, Signor Neri, Signor Bonfanti, and Signor Rovedino, Who are all engaged not to perform out of the Theatre. *Solo Performers* Mr. Salomon, Mr. Dussek, Signor Dragonetti, Mr. Shram, Mr. Linley, Mr. Ashe, Mr. Holmes, Mr. Harrington, And Mr. Viotti. The Choruses under the Direction of Dr. Arnold, Organist of His Majesty's Chapel, who will himself preside at the Organ. At the Harpsichord, Dr. Haydn, and Mr. Federici. Leader of the Band, Mr. Cramer. The whole to be under the Direction of Mr. Viotti, who will also occasionally furnish new Pieces of Music. Conditions of the Subscription—Four Guineas for Nine Performances. Tickets to be transferable; Ladies' to Ladies, and Gentlemen's to Gentlemen. Tickets to be delivered for each Night, and the Subscribers to write on the back of them the name of the Lady or Gentleman to whom they give them."

Further directions are then given about the purchase of tickets, but the great interest of the advertisement lies in the galaxy of genius and talent it lists. Apart from the Opera establishment Haydn had evidently taken with him the pick of Salomon's orchestral players including Ashe (flute), Holmes (bassoon) and Harrington (oboe). As for the "also-rans" of the King's Theatre, like Federici—a man who had an unlimited influence over Taylor—they just filled their little parts and are now forgotten.

In the advertisements that followed one seems to live through the hopes and fears of the promoters. On 28th January the advertisement contained the additional information that "The Orchestra will consist of more than Sixty Instrumental Performers, besides the Solo Players" and set out the programme, of which Part First opened with "A Grand Overture, M.S. [in other words a symphony] by Haydn", and Part Second with "A Grand New Overture, composed on the Occasion by Haydn". Considering the evidence one assumes this was the glorious Symphony in B flat, No. 102, which in Haydn's autograph score bears the double date of 1794 and 1795. The programme bristled with celebrities. The advertisement on 31st January gives the extra information:

"The Door to be opened at Seven, and to begin precisely at eight. The Nobility and Gentry are respectfully informed that the King's door only adjoining Union Court, will be open on Concert Nights, and in order to prevent confusion, the Subscribers are earnestly entreated to give positive directions to their Servants to set down and take up with the horses' heads towards Pall Mall. Mr. Townshend will attend every night."

(Those words "positive directions" give an enchanting glimpse of the wayward habits of the audience.) The advertisement concludes with the words *Vivant Rex et Regina*—a reassuring proof of loyalty, this being a year in which rumours of spies and conspiracies to overthrow the Constitution were rife, and the Pop-gun plot to assassinate the King was still fresh in memory. (Haydn, by the way, noted that event in his diary.)

Finally came the great day itself. The advertisement in *The Oracle* had now developed a *coda* which gives a vivid idea of the bustle of excited preparations:

"At the desire of many of the Subscribers the door in Market Lane will also be opened for the accommodation of the Company. N.B. In reply to numberless applications which have been made at the Office, the Public are entreated to observe, that it is an unalterable rule of this Concert (conditioned on the part of the Subscribers) that no

Tickets shall be granted for the night, and no Subscriptions divided, neither will Tickets be issued at any period of the Season under the full subscription.

"The office will continue open all this day and evening for the delivering of the Subscribers Tickets. *Vivant Rex et Regina.*"

Evidently business was brisk—a guess justified by the fact that in the end the season of nine concerts was extended to eleven. But owing to the scarcity of records little is known. So far the only comment I have found upon this first Opera concert is not—ironically enough—concerned with Haydn but with the prima-donna Brigida Banti who sang in the second part of the programme. The London public was devoted to her, her colleagues in the Opera company less so, for they probably knew she was the mistress of William Taylor and had acquired thousands of pounds from him. This is what *The Oracle* said a few days after the first concert:

"Banti seems to have collected all the disaffected spirits that inhabit the regions of Operatic dubiety, in one cloud of calumny against her. The *Italian Gentry* display malignity so obviously, as perhaps to bring their *manhoods* in question."

The programme of the next concert, on 14th February, contained a symphony in *MS.* by Haydn, not a new one, however, and the exact dates in that Spring for the first performance of his symphonies in *E flat* (the *Drumroll*), No. 103, and the so-called *London*, in *D major*, No. 104, are unknown. Both were dated by him "1795". These, the last, and greatest of Haydn's symphonic works, have a special quality of their own. If Nos. 103 and 104 employ a larger orchestra, the more economical scoring of No. 102 is offset by the grandeur of Haydn's treatment, and all three show an indefinable but very recognizable growth in spaciousness. Here, at the Opera Concerts, Haydn had for the first time a body of players comparable in numbers with a modern symphony orchestra. Salomon had employed about forty men in his orchestra; the normal band at the King's Theatre was probably no larger, and Haydn's opinion of the latter was not altogether favourable. He noted in his diary in March 1795, that at a performance of Bianchi's opera *Acis and Galatea* "das orchester ist dieser Jahr reicher an Personal, aber eben so Mechanisch und schlecht plessirt als es vorherr war, indiverent im Accompagnement". But the special orchestra of sixty players for the Opera Concerts must have been a far finer affair, augmented by the best men (as I have suggested) of the Salomon orchestra. The increased resources were a challenge to Haydn's genius: so too was his position in the midst of a group of composers, conductors and soloists so brilliant that it might well have been called a "ministry of all the talents". As man and artist he had a nature which, the bigger the demands made on it, the more magnificently did it react. His three greatest symphonies were his superb response to the Opera Concerts.

An Unrecorded English Edition of Mozart's Duet-Sonata K.19d

BY

A. HYATT KING

THE history of Mozart's duet-Sonata in C major, K.19d, is perhaps more curious than that of any other of his juvenile compositions, and is particularly interesting to English readers since there is little doubt that the work was written in London. But the very first mention of it raises a problem of a kind which characterizes its whole rather chequered career. During the summer of 1765, when the Mozart family was still in London, but preparing to return to the Continent *via* the Hague, several advertisements had appeared in the daily press, announcing concerts by Wolfgang and his sister. The last announcement of all, inserted in *The Public Advertiser* on 11th July, 1765, ended with the sentence: "The two children will play also together upon the same harpsichord, and put upon it a handkerchief, without seeing the keys".

As a corollary to this, there must be quoted two sentences which, according to Nissen,¹ occur at the end of a letter written on 9th July in London by Leopold Mozart to Lorenz Hagenauer, his friend and landlord in Salzburg. They run as follows: "In London, little Wolfgang has composed his first piece for four hands. Up till now, no four-hand sonata had been composed anywhere". Apart from the questionable truth of the latter statement² it appears most improbable that these sentences belong to the letter of 9th July. The salient words in German are: "In London hat Wolfganglerl . . . gemacht". Leopold, if actually writing in London, would have had little reason to place such emphasis on the place, or on the past tense. Schiedermaier suggested³ that the sentences might be an addition of Nissen's. But it would seem more likely that Nissen either muddled his sources, or, for some obscure reason, juggled with them as was his wont, and transferred the sentences to the London letter of 9th July from a subsequent letter, perhaps written at the Hague, and now lost. Forgery cannot be ruled out, but it is hard to divine what Nissen stood to gain. The corroborative facts (of which he could not possibly have been aware) stand against this possibility and, besides, what did the unmusical Nissen know of the historical antecedents of the duet-sonata? At the same time, it must be mentioned that the letter as given in the early copies formerly in the Prussian State Library, and used by Miss Emily Anderson,⁴ does not contain the crucial sentences.

At all events, there is no reference to this Sonata in the documents covering

¹ *Biographie W. A. Mozarts*, 1828, p. 102.

² It was strictly true only for works in sonata-form. Some account of early duets is given in my article "Mozart's Piano Music", *MUSIC REVIEW*, Vol. V, No. 2, May 1944.

³ *Die Briefe W. A. Mozarts*, 1914, Vol. 4, p. 395.

⁴ *Letters of Mozart and his Family*, 1938, Vol. 1, p. 83. I am indebted to Miss Anderson for discussion and verification of this point.

Mozart's lifetime. But on 23rd March, 1800, his sister, then Baroness Sonnenburg, wrote to Breitkopf & Härtel:⁵ "I have now nothing more to send you than the three [two-hand] sonatas, as requested, and two pieces which were his first work for four hands". The words "2 Stücke, welche seine erste Composition für 4 Hände waren" hardly seem to apply to a sonata in three movements, but may have been written loosely. Further correspondence, as partially quoted by Köchel-Einstein on K.19d, mentions other pieces for four hands. It is not known whether K.19d was among these, and whether Baroness Sonnenburg did actually send any or all of these to Leipzig. The autographs have all disappeared, and for over a century after Mozart's death none of this juvenile duet-music was known in any form. The earliest surviving sonata for four hands was assumed to be that in D (K.381), probably composed in 1772. Of this also Baroness Sonnenburg once possessed the autograph, but it too has vanished.

On 7th May, 1921, however, Saint-Foix published in *La Revue Musicale* an article entitled "Une sonate inconnue de Mozart", giving an account of the Sonata now known as K.19d, of which he had discovered a unique copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The title page of this edition reads as follows:

Sonate/ à quatre mains/ pour le piano forte/ ou le clavecin/ composée/ par A. Mozart/ oeuvre-/ gravé par Melle Rickert/ prix 31 12s/ A Paris/ chez M. de Roullède, rue St. Honoré, près l'Oratoire/ au duc de Valois, no. 614/.

From external evidence Saint-Foix assigned this edition to a date between 1789 and 1791, which can be slightly adjusted through the discovery of an advertisement of it in Kungen and Reichardt's *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* for June 1792 as one of the "brand new musical works engraved in Paris" (Einstein, *Mozart, his Character, his Work*, 1945, p. 271). Saint-Foix' discussion of the relevant passages in the letters of Leopold Mozart and of Baroness Sonnenburg, runs as follows:

"Aussi l'excellent L. Mozart affirme-t'il qu'un tel phénomène s'est produit à Londres, pour la première fois, vers le debut du mois de la dite année (1765) et que son fils est l'auteur de la première sonate qu'on ait écrite pour être jouer, sur un même clavecin. Vers la fin de sa vie, Mme la baronne de Sonnenburg, née Marianne Mozart, se rapellant sans doute les innombrables exhibitions et séances ou elle eut apparaitre aux côtés du petit bonhomme, tout frisé et sérieux, qu'était alors le future auteur de Don Juan, aimait à raconter qu'elle conservait précieusement 'deux morceaux pour le piano à quatre mains, les premiers que son glorieux frère eut écrits dans ce genre'."

From this characteristically romantic flight of imagination, it is clear that Saint-Foix without hesitation not only identified the de Roullède edition with the work mentioned in Leopold Mozart's letter but also ignored the doubt previously cast upon the last two sentences of that letter. Saint-Foix' second thoughts⁶ were slightly more cautious, but his basic opinion seems to have remained the same.⁷ In these two points he has been uncritically followed

⁵ Nottebohm, *Mozartiana*, 1880, p. 139.

⁶ Wyzewa and Saint-Foix, *Wolfgang Amadé Mozart*, Vol. 1, 2nd ed., 1936, p. 528.

⁷ Cf. the note to p. 150 of R. C. Ganzler and L. Künsche, *Vierhändig*, a study of duets, published at Munich in 1937.

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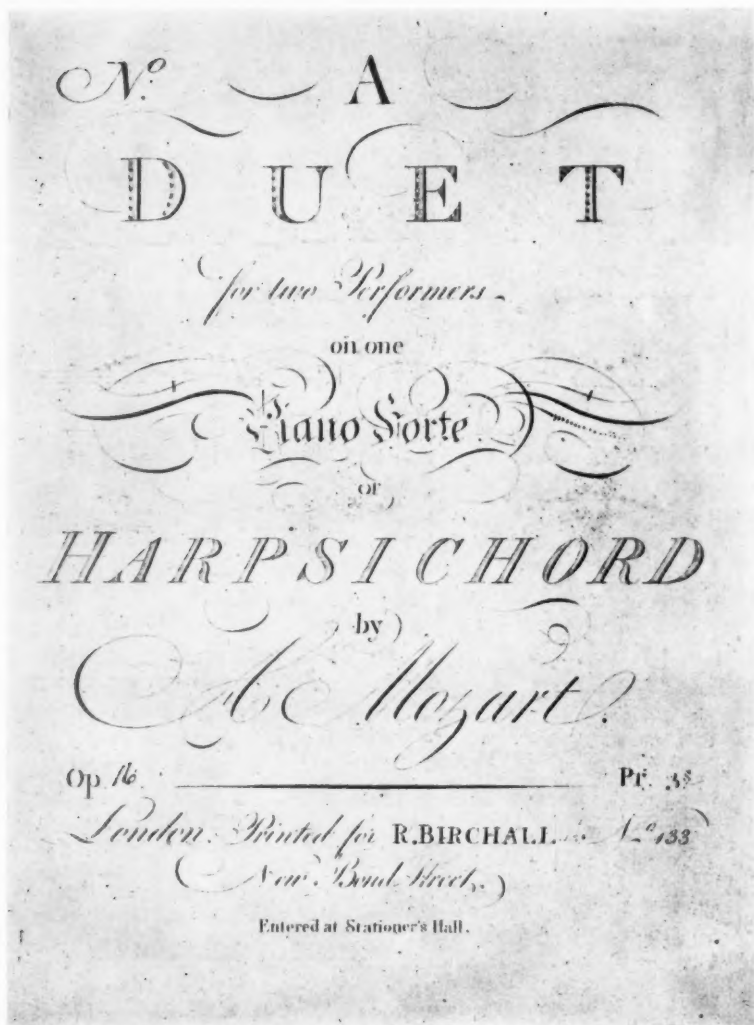


PLATE I. Title page to Birchall edition of K.19d.

by those subsequent writers on Mozart who have mentioned the work, mostly with little comment.⁸ Saint-Foix printed in full the minuet and trio of K.19d in a later issue of *La Revue Musicale* (1st October, 1921, pp. 286, 287).⁹ In 1936 the de Roulede edition was reproduced in a reduced facsimile by R. C. Ganzer and L. Künsche in *Vierhändig*.¹⁰ This was not, however, an exact facsimile, but included corrections of some of the more obviously wrong notes. An undated edition, consisting of a new printing of de Roulede in oblong folio and based substantially upon the facsimile in *Vierhändig*, was issued in 1941 by Dunnebeil of Berlin, and there the history of K.19d came to a stop.

But recently the present writer was fortunate enough to acquire a copy of an unrecorded English edition, published by Birchall as "Op. 16", which not only intensifies the problems raised by the de Roulede edition, but poses new ones, to some of which it is hard to give a complete or satisfactory answer. Birchall's edition is noteworthy in that, though still faulty, it provides a much more accurate musical text. Before discussing this, however, some points of bibliography and provenance call for consideration.

The title page is, as a glance at the illustration (pl. 1) will show, of the "passe-par-tout" kind, adaptable for a whole series of Mozart duets. The number in the series and the opus number are left blank, to be filled in by hand. Besides K.19d, only the following copies of this Birchall series are known at present:

Op.	No.	Köchel.	W.M. date.	Location, etc.
3	1	381	1797	Hirsch Library (B.M.) M.1434.
3	1	381	1805	B.M. g.272.1 (10).
3	1	381	1824	Mr. C. B. Oldman's Collection.
3	2	358	1819	" " " "

The single initial "A" preceding Mozart's name is very uncommon. It is otherwise known only on a Paris edition of the wind Octet in C minor (K.388), published by Carli c. 1820, and on the de Roulede edition of K.19d. Examination of the imprint reveals the fact that in all recorded copies the name "R. Birchall" has been impressed with a stamp over an erasure, while the remainder, including the address—"133 New Bond Street"—has been left unaltered. The erased name under "R. Birchall" does not, unfortunately, become legible under either infra-red or ultra-violet rays. But according to Köchel-Einstein, Mozart's Op. 3 had been issued by Birchall & Andrews, whose address was no. 129 New Bond Street.¹¹ Therefore we should expect either or both of these to be the erased name, and examination of all known copies of the series under a strong glass reveals enough of the original letters in fragmentary outline to

⁸ Abert. I.62 (1919 ed.) left the reference to Leopold's letter just as it stood in the earlier editions of Jahn, but added the words "allerdings unrichtigen" to qualify paternal claims for absolute priority. In the 2nd edition (1923), he did not take cognizance of Saint-Foix' discovery.

⁹ Robert Haas, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart*, Potsdam, 1950, p. 48, incorrectly credits Saint-Foix with publication of the whole in 1921.

¹⁰ Cf. footnote 7.

¹¹ K.358 (Op. 3, No. 1) was also published by Birchall & Andrews, but without opus number, as part of Stephen Storace's Collection of Harpsichord Music, c. 1788.

make it most probable that the original imprint was "Printed for H. Andrews". At once, however, a difficulty presents itself. The "No. 133" has plainly been left untouched (*cf.* pl. 1) and we know beyond dispute that Hugh Andrews was never in business at this number in New Bond Street. When the partnership was dissolved in May 1789,¹² Andrews stayed at the old address no. 129 and Birchall moved to no. 133 where he remained, ever prospering, until 1819. Moreover, between 1783 and 1819 no other music publishers had premises at either no. 133, or no. 129. Perhaps we may assume that originally Andrews intended to move to no. 133, and had the title page for the Mozart duet series engraved with this address. But in the event Birchall went to no. 133, and, taking over the series presumably by arrangement, reissued Op. 3 early in 1790 with an erased imprint, and added Op. 16 shortly afterwards.

The date of the first publication of Op. 16 can be fixed approximately from its mention, with Op. 3, in a long Birchall catalogue that forms part of his edition of Madame Delaval's "Three Sonatas for the Harp. Op. 1^{ma}",¹³ which, it may be inferred from works mentioned on its title page, appeared in or soon after 1790. Thus, while the present copy of Mozart's Op. 16 (which is without watermark date) is probably a reissue, printed between 1795 and 1805, there is no doubt, on bibliographical grounds, that Birchall's original publication of this duet was at least as early as the edition put out in Paris by de Roulede.

Two puzzling points remain—first, the source of the number "16". Nearly twenty years ago, it was connected with a Birchall edition (of which no copy was then known) of a Mozart duet, by O. E. Deutsch and C. B. Oldman in part 2 of their "Mozart-Drucke".¹⁴ Under the number "16" they otherwise identified only the Artaria edition of the pianoforte Trio K.564, an André edition of K. Anh.149 and a Henning edition of K.496. As "16" is also unknown in connection with any English edition of Mozart issued before 1800, Birchall may well have devised it himself to fill a gap in the English series of Mozart opus numbers.¹⁵ Later, "Op. 16" appears to have been pirated by Lavenu & Mitchell, for *c.* 1805 they published a Mozart duet with this number as no. 47 of their "Collection of Periodical Duets for two Performers on one Pianoforte".¹⁶ No copy of the Lavenu edition is known, but it is probable that it was of K.19d, as opus numbers and works tended to remain in constant relationship.

Secondly—what source did both Birchall and de Roulede use for their respective editions of this Sonata? Though contemporaneous it is most unlikely, both for textual and bibliographical reasons, that either copied the other, or that there was any trade relationship between the two firms. Obviously there is a wide field for conjecture. But admittedly it is a strange coincidence that such an obscure work should have appeared in two almost

¹² The exact date has been discovered by Mr. Charles Humphries through his researches in the Burney newspapers at the British Museum.

¹³ B.M. h.3200 (8).

¹⁴ *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, Vol. 14, April 1932, p. 341.

¹⁵ *Cf.* footnote 17.

¹⁶ Advertisement on G. Wölfl's Duet, Op. 37. B.M. H.2810 (10). W.M. 1804.

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PLATE 2. Opening of first movement of K. 19d, Birchall edition.

simultaneous editions, 25 years after it was composed. Perhaps the most likely original for each is a MS. copy, since it is almost inconceivable that in or about 1790 either publisher could have had access to the autograph of K.19d, which was then presumably still in the possession of Mozart's sister at St. Gilgen in the Salzkammergut. For the English source one might suggest, as a pleasant theory, that Mozart, before leaving London in 1765, had given a copy of the duet to J. C. Bach, himself a composer of such works, as a souvenir of their having played together. After Bach's death in 1782, the copy would have been discovered and, in time, come to the notice of the firm who showed the earliest interest in the sonatas and duets of Mozart's maturity.¹⁷

Space does not permit a detailed account of the many differences between the Birchall and de Roullède editions,¹⁸ but a few characteristic points may be noted. The first twelve bars of the treble of the de Roullède (=B) edition deserve quoting for comparison with plate 2 from Birchall (=A).

Ex.1



In bar 1 A gives the correct chords, while B, dropping the lowest note an extra third, commits a type of error which occurs several times later. But in bars 3-4, 9-10 the variously placed trills are misplaced identically: they should more probably be on the *appoggiatura* than on its resolution. In bars 5 and 10, 11 (r.h. *primo* and *secondo*), however, A gives a correct sequence of notes throughout, while B, as marked with an asterisk, rises too high. At the same time it should be mentioned that the bass in both these passages is identically corrupt with crude harmony and blatant consecutives. Two typical smaller points of difference occur in the Minuet, bar 45 where B gives

Ex.2



¹⁷ Early in 1785 Birchall & Andrews advertised some sonatas by "Mozart" as Op. 5, of which no copy is known, but this is probably the first appearance of Mozart's name in England since 1766. Later, besides Op. 3, they also issued K.497 as Op. 12. Birchall published K.521 as Op. 14 and K.614, arranged as a duet, as Op. 41.

¹⁸ A full "apparatus criticus" will be included in the definitive edition of this Sonata, which is shortly to be published by the Oxford University Press, edited by Mr. Howard Ferguson and the present writer. Saint-Foix' discovery unfortunately came too late for K.19d to be included in the supplements to the Breitkopf Gesamtausgabe.

but A, correctly

Ex.3

and in the Rondo, bar 64 where B has a misplaced grouping combined with a wrong note,

Ex.4

given accurately in A

Ex.5

Out of a total of 37 misengraved accidentals, in all three movements, 28 are common to both A and B: nine are found only in B, which is a further, though less weighty instance of the superiority of A. Again, at bar 160 in the Rondo, A gives "all^o" = *allegro*, for the resumption after the remarkable 3/4 episode (foreshadowing the pianoforte concertos K.271, 482), B gives "Alto"! On the other hand, one weakness common to both consists of obvious errors in the notes causing a clash of hands between the two players. In general, however, it may be said that the discovery of the Birchall edition has much eased the restoration of a sound musical text of one of the most delightful and original of all Mozart's juvenile works. Should the autograph, or (what seems less likely) an earlier printed edition come to light, no doubt many of the puzzling points outlined in this essay will be solved.

[After the proofs of this article had been passed, a chance discovery brought to light conclusive evidence that the English edition of K.19d was originally published in the autumn of 1789. Details will be given, by the kind co-operation of the Editor, in the May issue of THE MUSIC REVIEW.

A. H. K.]

An Introduction to Schubert's Sonatas of 1817

BY

MAURICE J. E. BROWN

SCHUBERT'S piano compositions of 1817 are as notable in variety and extent, if not so important, as his song compositions of the previous two years. In those years, 1815 and 1816, he composed over 250 songs, nearly half his total output; in 1817 he turned as eagerly to pianoforte composition, and from March to November was occupied almost entirely with work in that medium. The whole series of his sonatas has been the subject of much study during the last forty years or so. I propose in this article to assemble in fairly concise form the somewhat widely diffused material which embodies the results of this study as it applies to the work of 1817 and to suggest in several cases new conclusions in connection with these six sonatas. The reason for this concern with part only of the whole series is not merely because other years of Schubert's creative life produced no such comparable body of work for the piano, but because these half-a-dozen sonatas present all kinds of problems which are almost entirely absent from the preceding three, and subsequent twelve. In any attempt at chronological arrangement, for example, it is these six works which have caused the main difficulties: we have no word at all from Schubert, or from his friends, referring to them or to performances of them; the high opus numbers of three of them, and the publishers' numberings, are quite misleading; the cataloguing of his enthusiastic friends, of his careful brother, and of the none-too-particular scribes of the mid-nineteenth century, are often contradictory; the dismembered state of some of the manuscripts and the temporary disappearance of others have produced widely accepted, but completely erroneous conclusions; Schubert's habit of sketching several movements, in any order which inspiration dictated, and from which he selected the requisite four, has introduced others. Patient and persistent examination of every scrap of authentic evidence has solved all these problems. Such an examination may be the characteristic—it has even been called the curse—of this scientific age, but until it was done, no other approach, even that of the head-in-the-stars Romantic, who is largely unconcerned with facts, could be of much value. Let future generations harvest what they will from these works, this one has done the necessary spade-work to clear the ground.

1817 was a notable year for Schubert. He had, late in the previous autumn, thrown up his position in his father's school, and had gone to lodge with his new friend, Franz von Schober, in the house of the latter's wealthy and widowed mother. He stayed there for nearly a year before he was obliged to return to his old task. Did constant access to an excellent piano produce the spate of sonatas that year? We cannot know for certain, but it is at least possible.¹

¹ Josef Doppler stated that to celebrate the successful performance of Schubert's Mass No. 1, in F major, on 26th October, 1814, Franz Schubert, sen., presented his son with a fine, new piano. The falsity of the story is demonstrated by Spaun, who stated categorically that in 1815 Schubert had no piano. I am inclined to think that all Doppler's anecdotes were the fabrications of a man who wished to impress, and who had no realization that future students would scrutinize his tales so closely, and check them against other sources of information.

(1) The first sonata of the year was composed in March: it is Sonata No. 4, in A minor. The work remained in manuscript throughout Schubert's life, and after his death was included in the large number of manuscripts offered by his brother Ferdinand on 29th November, 1829, to Diabelli; they were bought by the music publisher early in 1830. The Sonata remained with the publisher undisturbed for over twenty years, until it was eventually published in 1853 by C. A. Spina, Diabelli's successor in the business, as Sonata No. 7, Op. 164. The numeration simply indicates that it was the seventh sonata of Schubert to be published. The simple dating "1817" has been derived from the catalogue of works given by Ferdinand Schubert at the end of his biographical essays on Schubert in the Leipzig *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* of 1839. For lack of a more definite date it was often placed at the end of the year's six sonatas, and appeared in most lists as Schubert's ninth sonata. The danger of drawing conclusions from style and technique in Schubert's work is illustrated by a passage in Hans Költzsch's otherwise excellent book on Schubert's sonatas; knowing only this year-dating he was satisfied on these grounds that the Sonata came last in order of composition! The manuscript, consisting of twenty-four pages, came eventually into the possession of the famous French autograph collector, Charles Malherbe (1853-1911), who bequeathed it to the Library of the *Conservatoire de Paris*, together with nearly forty other Schubertian MSS. The whole bequest was listed and described in 1928 by J. G. Prod'homme in the *Revue de Musicologie* (Vol. IX): in his seventh entry he gives the date of the autograph—"March 1817".

(2) The second work of the year, dating from May, the Sonata No. 5, in A flat major, is a curiosity. It consists of three movements, *Allegro Moderato*, *Andante*, *Allegro*: the third of these, without doubt a finale in Schubert's early manner, is in the key of E flat. This unprecedented departure from classical procedure raises doubts as to whether the *Allegro* was intended by Schubert to conclude this particular work, but that his friends had no doubt of it is proved by the existence of a very old copy—not in Schubert's hand—preserved in the famous Spaun-Witteczek collection of Schubert manuscripts. Both the autograph and the copy are extant, the latter now in the possession of the Vienna *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*. The autograph bears the date "May 1817" but survives in an incomplete form; it reaches only to bar 27 of the finale. It was sold to Diabelli in 1830 by Ferdinand (presumably intact at that time) but was never published. The copy is faulty, but complete; the two sources were both used for the Sonata as it appears in the tenth volume of the Complete Edition.

(3) The complex history of the Sonata No. 6, in E minor, composed in June, is unique even among the histories of Schubert's carelessly treated manuscripts, and can have few parallels in the case of other men's work. The first three movements, *Moderato*, *Allegretto*, *Scherzo*, were written by Schubert on one sheaf of upright folios, and dated "June 1817"; there are no empty leaves at the conclusion of this sheaf of papers, and the pages are numbered 1-18 by another hand. The fourth movement, a Rondo in E major, was

separate. In addition there exists on one folio, consisting of four pages, Schubert's revision of his first movement, which is also dated "June 1817". The manuscript shows conclusively that it was a final drafting, and Schubert may have intended it to be the start of a complete revision of the whole work. The three manuscripts came into the possession of Ferdinand at the composer's death; the Rondo was one of the manuscripts he sold to Diabelli, obviously unaware of the fact that it formed the concluding movement of the Sonata in E minor. Some twelve years later, on 22nd January, 1842, the publisher F. Whistling of Leipzig wrote to Ferdinand asking him if he would sell for publication any songs or piano compositions of Schubert's still in his possession. Ferdinand replied on 27th January, 1842, informing Whistling that Diabelli had purchased such works as were available, but telling the publisher that he did possess a fragmentary sonata consisting of four (*sic*) movements, but that the last movement was missing. Ferdinand's statement that the fragment contained four movements is puzzling: did he consider the trio of the scherzo, which concludes the manuscript, a separate movement? Or did he wish to imply that *originally* the work consisted of four movements? There seems no satisfactory answer. On 12th July, 1842, Whistling bought the three movements, together with the score of Schubert's Symphony No. 5, in B flat. He never published the Sonata, and the manuscript temporarily disappeared.

Two years after Whistling's purchase, Ferdinand was visited by Ludwig Landsberg, a collector of autographs, and sold to him a number of Schubert's manuscripts, including the single, revised movement of this Sonata. From Landsberg the movement passed to the Royal Library of Berlin, later known as the Prussian State Library; it was sent during the last war for safe keeping to Marburg, where it now lies, in the "Westdeutsche" Library. Kreissle, in his biography of Schubert, which was published in its final form in 1865, stated that the MS. comprised *two* movements—a first movement and a scherzo: all commentators have drawn attention to this error, but it is a singular fact that both Ferdinand Schubert and Kreissle have attributed to this Sonata an extra movement which is not in the manuscript.

In the meantime the detached Rondo had been published, in 1845, by Diabelli. He prefaced it by an *Adagio*, the manuscript of which he had also bought from Ferdinand in 1830, and the two independent movements "*Adagio and Rondo*" appeared together, as if by Schubert's intention, as Op. 145. Both Kreissle (1865) and Nottebohm (1874) drew attention to the dubious association of the two pieces. Nottebohm pointed out that since the copies of both movements in the Spaun-Witteczeck collection are quite separate, the pieces are not true associates. A similar conclusion could be drawn from Ferdinand's list of the works he offered to Diabelli. Kreissle, who knew nothing of the existence of the copies examined by Nottebohm, shrewdly guesses at the truth; he even goes so far as to suspect the introductory movement as the work of another hand, designed to make the "fragment" more marketable. A word on the *Adagio* may be interposed here. After the publication of Op. 145, Schubert's autographs of both movements were lost.

Fortunately, as has been mentioned, both had been copied during Schubert's lifetime, and both copies are still extant. The *Adagio* is a sonata movement in D flat; it was grossly shortened, as well as transposed into E major, to serve as the introduction to the Rondo. But we may always be grateful to Diabelli's hack, in that he preserved for us in his travesty one bar which is missing in the Spaun-Witteczek copy, and without which the whole balance of the initial melodic phrases is ludicrously upset. The *Adagio*, as Schubert composed it, was published for the first time in the "Revisions-Bericht" supplement to the Complete Edition.

To resume the history of the sonata-manuscripts: when the sonatas were being prepared for publication in this Complete Edition of Schubert's work, Whistling's manuscript of the E minor Sonata was unknown, and the manuscript in the Berlin Library was used. Accordingly the Sonata appeared in 1888 as a work in one movement. Fifteen years later Dr. Erich Prieger of Bonn acquired the Whistling manuscript, and in 1907 the second movement, an *Allegretto* in E major, was published by Breitkopf & Härtel. Not until Schubert's centenary year, 1928, was the third movement of this unlucky work published: this time as a supplement to the Berlin *Die Musik* (Vol. 21), with an introductory article by Dr. Adolf Bauer. As readers of Mr. Robert Simpson's review in *THE MUSIC REVIEW* (May 1949) will have seen, the whole work was published, for the first time "cured and perfect of its limbs", as "Sonata in E minor", by the "British & Continental Music Agencies" in 1948. One word remains to be added: the attribution of the Rondo to this Sonata cannot at the moment be established as absolutely sound; only the possible discovery of Schubert's manuscript could do this. But I feel that we can be more certain than various commentators on the matter would have us be. The first point to notice is that the copy in the Spaun-Witteczek collection is headed "Sonata/Rondo", but carries no date. There exists, however, Schubert's preliminary sketch of the movement (bars 57-87) on the manuscript page containing the first draft of his song *Lebenslied*. The Rondo was evidently composed soon after the composition of the song; the sketch of *Lebenslied* is dated "December 1816". We can safely deduce that the Rondo in E major was intended for one of the sonatas of 1817. Leaving aside for the moment the fact that the Sonata in E minor lacked a final movement, consider the keys of the six sonatas: A minor, A flat major, E minor, E flat (originally D flat) major, F sharp minor, B major. It is surely obvious that the third work, in E minor, is the only one that can lay any claim to the additional movement. Ludwig Scheibler, in 1905, was among the first to suggest that the Rondo of Op. 145 was the missing finale, and since examination of the available facts supports his suggestion, it may be confidently accepted as sound.

(4) The same month, June, saw the composition of another sonata; in its final form it was published in 1830 by A. Pennauer as "Troisième grande Sonate pour le pianoforte. . . . Op. 122". Here also, the numeration was intended to convey the order of publication of Schubert's sonatas: in point of fact it was the fourth, not the third, to be published. Schubert's first conception was in the key of D flat, and in this key the first two movements and

practically the whole of the finale (only twenty or so concluding bars are lacking) were completed. The manuscript, now in the possession of the Vienna City Library, is dated "June 1817". But Schubert abandoned the scheme, and transposed the work into E flat. In the new key he finished the finale, and added the third movement—"Menuetto and Trio". This is the work as published by Pennauer, and it is the best-known, and perhaps the best, of these early sonatas. In connection with the publication of the Sonata it is of interest to note that in an account submitted by Ferdinand Schubert to his father in June 1829, a number of small sums of money are detailed, one of them received in the previous January, *i.e.* two months after Schubert's death. If Professor O. E. Deutsch is correct in his surmise that this was the fee paid by Pennauer for Op. 122, then it is possible that the manuscript had been prepared and submitted to the publisher by the composer himself, since there is no record of Ferdinand having done so, or indeed, of having had time to do so. But although Schubert's transposition from D flat to E flat was clearly designed to ease the way of publication, it was not for Pennauer that the change was made, in fact, the E flat version must have followed soon after he had given up the original one. It is impossible to be certain how soon afterwards, since Schubert's manuscript for the E flat version was not preserved by Pennauer. But the change had certainly been made by November of 1817. In that month he composed two scherzi (published in Vol. XI of the Complete Edition), the first in B flat and the second in D flat. The keys suggest the possibility that these scherzi were intended as studies for the third movement of the Sonata, whichever key it finally assumed determining the choice of scherzo. The possibility becomes a certainty when we find that the trio-section of the second scherzo in D flat was taken over by Schubert for the minuet which he eventually included in the Sonata. The key of the trio is A flat, so that it serves the scherzo (D flat) and the minuet (E flat) equally well. Considering the sterling worth of these abandoned movements, what a prodigal composer he was! The light thrown on Schubert's method of composition by this duplication, testing, rejection, is revealing. The picture of a Schubert, writing big instrumental works straight through, without any self-criticism—*à l'improviste* in Grove's phrase—is an altogether misleading one. There are sketches in existence for most of his later instrumental works, for many of his songs, even for several of his early compositions; even when they are not extant we may presume that they once existed—the aspect of his scores indicates it.

The slow movement of this Sonata was first sketched in D minor; the sketch itself is not of so much interest as the fact that Schubert wrote it on the back of Beethoven's early song *Ich liebe dich*. The song occupies the middle two pages of a folio of music paper; Schubert's sketch is on the first page, and breaks off at the top of the fourth. (The rest of the fourth page consists of a pupil's exercises corrected in Schubert's hand.) Schubert's carelessness with the Beethoven manuscript becomes outrageous two months later, when, on 14th August, 1817, he tore the folio in two, and handed one half to his friend Anselm Hüttenbrenner, retaining the other himself. The two halves

subsequently came into the possession of Brahms. The sketch differs very slightly from the final version of the slow movement, but the subsequent transpositions are interesting. The original key of D minor became C sharp minor for the D flat version of the Sonata; this gave place to G minor for the second version, since Schubert evidently considered that the tonic minor—E flat minor—was not manageable. The *tempo*-indications likewise suffered changes: originally *Andante*, then *Andantino*, and finally *Andante Molto*. It is without doubt the finest of the slow movements to the year's series of sonatas.

All commentators have deplored Schubert's transposition of his Sonata from D flat to E flat: Brahms is said to have been delighted when the D flat version came to light during the preparation of the Complete Edition. Inevitably, music conceived for the piano in the key of D flat lies under the hand more comfortably in that key than in E flat, and with Schubert's piano-writing this is no inconsiderable factor. But, convenience of playing apart, it is doubtful whether in truth the music does lose anything by its change of key. We, of this age, doubtless react to the key of D flat in a way different from that of our nineteenth-century Romantic predecessors.

(5) Schubert's eighth pianoforte Sonata, in F sharp minor, the fifth of the year, followed in July. It is fragmentary. The manuscript contains only the first movement, *Allegro Moderato*. This is not completely written out, but breaks off at the end of the development section. At first glance it seems as if even this section is incomplete, since there is no leading back to the key of the opening; but there is a distinct and extended cadential close in B minor, and it is possible that Schubert was preparing for that characteristic procedure of his early years, the subdominant recapitulation. If from the point where Schubert breaks off his movement, one continues with the opening bars, transposed so, the result is quite convincing.

Amongst the several isolated pieces for piano which belong to this period, and which are all clearly studies for sonata-movements, is an associated pair consisting of an *Allegro* in F sharp minor (incomplete) and a Scherzo in D major (trio-section in B flat major). It was not Schubert's practice to write independent scherzi for the piano, either with, or without associated movements, and this pair of movements was undoubtedly intended to be part of a sonata. Do they form part of the eighth Sonata, in F sharp minor? The question was first raised by Ludwig Scheibler in 1905, and he considered that they do. The *Allegro* is certainly a Schubertian finale, and a very interesting one; the fact that it precedes the scherzo means nothing, since, as I have already pointed out, once the first movement of a work in sonata-form was drafted, Schubert turned to any one of the others as he felt inspired.² There are unmistakable thematic resemblances between the *Allegro* and the movement of the Sonata (but quite unimportant ones: it is not being suggested that

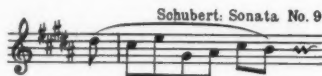
² In this connection it is interesting to observe that in the almost unknown symphonic sketches which he wrote in 1818, there are drafts for six movements following the first, in which the finale (or one of them) precedes the almost completed scherzo.

Schubert was using "cyclic" *formulae*, which imply that the two movements were composed within a short time of each other. There is, for instance, a similar use of the F sharp minor *arpeggio*, and the building of themes on the repeated dominant (C sharp). Another matter to be taken into consideration is the unusual key of the *Allegro*. Schubert was not drawn to the key of F sharp minor; he never used it as the main key for any other instrumental work throughout his career, and only *once* for a subsidiary movement—the *Andantino* of Sonata No. 20, in A major. Even his songs in this key are extraordinarily few in number compared with those in all other keys. If then we find two detached movements which belong to a sonata in F sharp minor, it seems fairly conclusive that they form the scherzo and finale of Sonata No. 8, which accordingly lacks only a slow movement. The movements were completed and edited by the pianist Walter Rehberg, and published together as a sonata in the "Steingraber" Edition. The incompleteness of the finale is like that of the first movement: Schubert takes his movement into the required key, this time the tonic key, and breaks off just as the opening is due to return. To him, in all probability, no further creative work remained to be done on the two movements to bring them to completion.

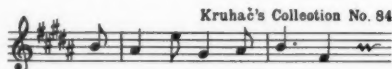
(6) The sixth, and last, sonata of the year, was his Sonata No. 9, in B major. It was composed in August, the month which saw the end of his sojourn in Schober's home. The manuscript of the Sonata was amongst those sold by Ferdinand Schubert to Diabelli, although the work was not published until 1843. It appeared as Op. 147, dedicated by the publisher "... à Monsieur S. Thalberg". The composer, we may be sure, would have approved this dedication, since in this year of the publication of the Sonata, Thalberg married the daughter of the great Italian bass Luigi Lablache, for whom Schubert had written the three Italian songs, Op. 83, and to whom he dedicated them. The manuscript used by Diabelli for the first edition of the Sonata is lost, but there exist Schubert's sketches for the work. These are dated "August 1817", and came into the possession of Brahms; they are now part of the collection of Schubertian MSS. in the Vienna *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*. The sketches confirm two things which have been stated during the discussion of the previous sonatas: first, that Schubert considered his movements as good as complete when his draft reached the point of recapitulation; second, that he was unconcerned when sketching his sonatas with the immediate order of the movements subsequent to the first. In these sketches the scherzo follows as the second movement. One notable point is that the sketch of the slow movement made possible a correction of the first edition of the work, since, in Diabelli's publication, bar 29 of the slow movement was omitted. Whilst this omission was not so vital as that in the *Adagio* in D flat—apparently for forty or so years it caused no surprise amongst pianists—the balance of the passage is eminently improved by its correction.

The absurdities to which some commentators will subscribe in order to prove the existence of folk-song material in the work of the great composers is illustrated by an example from the first movement of this Sonata in B major

Ignoring the evolution of the following phrase, but snipping it entirely from its preceding bars:



they ask us seriously to consider whether Schubert knew of a Slav folksong containing this phrase:



Surveying the complete series of Schubert's sonatas, one can see that after 1817 the best were yet to come; but of all the categories of Schubert's early works, not even excluding the symphonies, this group of sonatas is the most significant. Various isolated works, the Symphony No. 5, in B flat, the Sonata in A for piano and violin, the String Trio in B flat (1817), can claim superiority over any one of these six piano sonatas, but considered as a whole the sonatas reveal most fully the promise of what was to be most personal, and most enduring in his mature works. If in imaginative scope and technical resource they show the limitations of the still-developing artist, there is at the same time the unmistakable presence of that artist's unique style and individuality of material. Only the most superficial traces of the influence of his great predecessors in this field can be found. Mozart's sonatas for the piano are not only different in degree from these early works of Schubert, but entirely different in kind. When Schubert, in 1817, composed his sonatas, Beethoven's work in the medium was nearing completion. If the influence of his great contemporary be in reality a deep one, it is from the later sonatas of Beethoven that we should expect to trace it. Spaun tells us that Schubert knew every note of Mozart, Haydn and Beethoven: even if we discount some of this exaggerated claim we can at least be certain that Schubert knew every one of Beethoven's published sonatas. Such influence as there is seems to be confined to the very opening bars (the finale of No. 4, in A minor: the scherzo of No. 9, in B major: the slow movement of No. 6, in E minor), but once the movement is under way, the assumed accent is forgotten, and Schubert's own voice speaks—or rather sings. His melody is irrepressible, and it is mostly cast into the lilting measure of the *ländler*; this it is that gives these six works their predominantly Schubertian flavour. Of the twenty-one movements in the 1817 sonatas, no fewer than twelve are cast in triple time, and the variety of rhythm, accent and phrase above the inflexible metrical foundation is remarkable. That these song-like episodes often hold up the progress of the music is undeniable; but the opinion that such a procedure is faulty is held only by those who will see no other treatment of sonata-form but that of Beethoven. Had Schubert consciously adopted Beethoven as his pattern, we should have seen the result most strongly in the formal construction of his movements, and in the organization of them within the framework of the

whole sonata; instead of which there is no comparison between the two men's approach. Beethoven's tendencies in his later sonatas to become less and less conventional, and to experiment to the last, leave Schubert untouched. The younger man is quite content, at least in the 1817 sonatas, to enrich and adorn the stationary form, but never to violate its basic construction.³

We see the same holding up of the course of his music by the tendency to linger and expatiate upon some spontaneous piece of pianistic imagery that suddenly catches his fancy: this is a contribution from his song-accompaniments. Two pleasant examples are these:

(a) Sonata No. 5
Pfte. *cresc.* *f*

(b) Sonata No. 7
Pfte. *(pp)* *cresc.*

Other characteristics of this group may be mentioned. There was a partiality for themes built on the tonic chord: five out of the six sonatas start with a theme so constructed, and such a characteristic feature almost completely disappeared in later work for the piano. And there was a tendency to extravagant key-shifts achieved by treating a chromatic note in one key as the key-note of the subsequent one. Here is the device at its most obvious:

(a) Sonata No. 9
Pfte. *(pp)* *cresc.* *ff*

(b) Sonata No. 6
L.H. *ff*

Undoubtedly Schubert's purpose that year was to explore the possibilities of the piano sonata, and to develop his own powers in that direction. He himself appears to have esteemed only the Sonata No. 7, in E flat, as worthy of

³ The point has been admirably dealt with by Colin Mason in his article "An aspect of Schubert's piano sonatas" (*Monthly Musical Record*: September 1946).

preservation. In connection with this exploration of the piano, there is the—for Schubert—wide choice of key. Such keys as D flat major, F sharp minor and B major are unfamiliar ones in his instrumental work, and were never used again.

In November, Schubert completed his year's work in this sphere; the succeeding years produced several unfinished sonatas, tentative essays which evidently failed to move him deeply, and one final specimen in his early manner, the short and sparkling Sonata in A major, Op. 120. Not until 1823 did the efforts of 1817 bear fruit with the magnificently mature work in A minor, Op. 143, the first of the final group.

Among the books consulted for the purpose of this article the chief were these:

1. Kreissle von Hellborn: *Franz Schubert* (1865).
2. Spaun: *Eine Bemerkung über die Biographie Schuberts von Herrn Ritter von Kreissle-Hellborn* (1864).
3. "Revisionsbericht" to the Collected Edition.
4. Költzsch: *Franz Schuberts Klaviersonaten*.
5. *Katalog der Schubert-Zentenar-Ausstellung* (Vienna, 1928).
6. *Die Musik*: Vol. 21 (Berlin, 1928).
7. *Revue de Musicologie*: Vol. IX (Paris, 1928).
8. Deutsch: *Schubert: A Documentary Biography*.

Beethoven's Variations on National Themes: their composition and first publication

BY

C. B. OLDMAN

IN spite of their many beauties Beethoven's *Variations on National Themes*, the sixteen short pieces for pianoforte with accompaniment for flute or violin which appear in the lists of his works as Op. 105 and 107, are so rarely played and have been so little studied that it is not surprising that the circumstances of their composition and first publication should have been allowed to remain obscure. Beyond the facts that they were written for George Thomson, the Edinburgh amateur for whom Beethoven had already composed accompaniments to a large number of Scottish and other songs, and that some of them (the authorities differ as to how many) were first published by him, little is to be gathered about their early history from the standard works of reference. The full story, and it is a curious one, can only be pieced together with the help of Thomson's letter-books and other papers which are now in the possession of the British Museum,¹ and these have been unaccountably neglected. While still in private hands these documents were utilized by J. C. Hadden for the very readable life of Thomson which he published in 1898,² but Hadden had a wide field to cover and could not devote more than a few pages to Thomson's relations with Beethoven, who was only one of the great men with whom Thomson's musical and literary enthusiasms brought him into contact.

The story may be said to begin in 1816, when, on 1st January, Thomson asked Beethoven to send him specimen airs from Germany, Poland, Russia, the Tyrol, Venice and Spain, with ritornels and accompaniments of his own composition, and promised him 4 ducats³ for each. Beethoven, somewhat surprisingly in view of his previous experiences with Thomson, fell in with the suggestion and a few months later sent no less than 18 such airs, which, on 8th July, Thomson gratefully acknowledged. He sent a further air shortly afterwards. On 20th October, however, Thomson had to confess that he had failed to get satisfactory English verses written to fit these airs and so could make no use of them as songs. He accordingly made an odd but very characteristic suggestion. He proposed that Beethoven should make from them six pot-pourri overtures for the pianoforte by intertwining them with ideas and passages of his own and offered him 36 ducats for this additional labour. Beethoven was naturally not attracted by this naïve proposal and the correspondence was for the moment broken off.

In the meantime the composer had received a somewhat similar but less eccentric offer from another quarter. Writing on 13th May, 1816, Birchall,

¹ Add. MSS. 35263-35269, acquired in 1899.

² *George Thomson, the friend of Burns: his life and correspondence* (J. C. Nimmo, London, 1898).

³ The exchange value of the gold ducat was, according to Thomson's own reckoning (see his letter to Boosey quoted on p. 50), just under 12s.

who had already published the *Battle* Symphony and was soon to publish the violin Sonata, Op. 96, and the piano Trio, Op. 97, asked whether Beethoven would consider writing Variations to the most favourite English, Scottish and Irish airs, with an accompaniment either for the violin or cello, and enquired what his terms would be. On 1st October Beethoven replied that he had no objection and that his price was £30 a piece. When Birchall protested, as he did on 8th November, that this was far too much, Beethoven, replying on 14th December, offered to do them for £20. Even this, however, Birchall must have thought too much for there is no record of any further negotiations.⁴

The following year Thomson returned to the attack again. At first it is clear that he was still thinking regretfully of the 19 foreign airs which he still had on his hands, for on 25th June, 1817, writing as usual in his letters to Beethoven in indifferent French,⁵ he suggested that Beethoven should select

"12 des Airs des différentes nations—ceux qui vous paroîtront le mieux adaptés pour être *varies*: et si vous composez des Variations (non plus que huit) à chaque Air, pour le Piano Forte d'un style agréable, et pas trop difficile, je vous payerai 72 ducats".

Beethoven was in no hurry to reply and when he wrote at last, on 21st February, 1818, it was to make counter-proposals of his own. "Je suis prêt", he wrote,

"de vous composer 12 ouvertures pour un honoraire de 140 ducats en espee, je suis prêt de vous composer 12 Thèmes avec variations pour 100 ducats en espee, mais si vous voulez faire composer 12 ouvertures et 12 Thèmes avec variations ensemble ou à même temps je suis en état de ne prendre plus pour les 12 ouvertures et les 12 Thèmes variés, que 224 ducats".

He pointed out that only a commission for a large number of pieces at a time could make it worth his while to descend to such trifles. Thomson replied on 22nd June. On the advice of his "correspondent at London", probably Preston, who did the actual marketing of his publications, he now suggested that Beethoven should choose the majority of the themes from the "Scottish" airs which he had already harmonized, and specified an accompaniment for flute *ad libitum*. He added: "Et on voudroit que vous ecriviez les Variations d'un style *familier et facile* et un peu *brillant*; afin que les [*sic*] plus grand nombre de nos Demoiselles puissent les exécuter et les goûter". He accepts Beethoven's price of 100 ducats for the 12 Variations alone. Beethoven must have got to work with commendable speed for on 28th December we find Thomson acknowledging the receipt of all 12 Variations.⁶ For the most part he professes himself delighted with them, though he is careful to point out that at the time of writing he has heard only eight of them played. Two of them,

⁴ See F. Chrysander, "Beethovens Verbindung mit Birchall und Stumpff in London", *Jahrbücher der Musikwissenschaft*, Bd. I, 1863.

⁵ In fairness to Thomson it should be pointed out that his letters are preserved only in copies by one of his clerks.

⁶ The British Museum possesses a manuscript containing sketches for all twelve Variations in Beethoven's hand (Eg. 2327). The numeration of the pieces in this MS. corresponds with Thomson's references to them in his letters to the composer. The order is: Op. 107⁹, 107¹⁰, 107², 107⁸, 105¹, 105², 105⁴, 105⁵, 107⁴, 105⁶, 107¹, 107⁵. The themes of all but the last two, which were Tyrolean, were taken from the "Scottish" airs as Thomson had suggested.

however (Op. 107⁸ and Op. 107¹⁰) do not please him. Would Beethoven write two more to take their place? "Et je vous prie", he adds, "de les faire d'un style agréable et *cantabile*, brillants pour la main droite, autant qu'il vous plaira; mais *faciles* à exécuter", and he cites Op. 105⁴ as an example of what Beethoven could do if he really tried. He encloses two themes that Beethoven might care to use (possibly those of Op. 107³ and Op. 107⁶) but gives him full liberty of choice. He concludes with the good news that he hopes to publish six of the variations in three months' time.

When he wrote again, however, on 8th January, 1819, he had some more bad tidings to convey. He had now heard all 12 of the variations originally sent and regretted that

"outre les deux Thèmes dont j'ai parlé dans ma dernière lettre, j'en trouve un autre, qui ne conviendrait pas aux demoiselles de ce pays-ci. Je parle de l'air du Tyrol, No. 11 [Op. 107¹] . . . Comme les deux mains, dans cette pièce, sont ensemble dans un mouvement continu, elle est beaucoup trop difficile pour les personnes qui s'amuse avec des Thèmes variés—et je vous assure qu'il me serait tout à fait inutile de le publier".

He asks Beethoven to choose another air—Russian, German or of whatever country he likes—

"et d'y composer des variations dans un style beau et brillant, pas trop difficile, car il s'en faut beaucoup que les dames de l'Ecosse ne soient aussi fortes que celles de votre Pays ou la musique est si cultivée".

Another piece also comes in for criticism. Thomson objects to one of the variations to Op. 107⁴. It ran:



He begs Beethoven to compose another in its place. "Elle est (pour aussi dire) trop *maigre* . . . Je vous prie donc, de m'en donner une autre, plus chantante, et d'un style plus brillant, ou coulant." He also asks for an additional variation as the piece is too short. As usual he offers to pay for the changes asked for. Beethoven's reply to this criticism has not survived, but he sent, as we shall see, three new sets of variations to replace the ones to which Thomson had objected, and he even seems to have taken to heart what Thomson said about one of the variations of Op. 107⁴. There is nothing to show that he sent another in its stead but it is significant that he omitted it from his own (the Simrock) edition of Op. 107.

Thomson was delighted with the new pieces. On 5th April, 1819, he wrote:

"Les trois derniers Themes Variés que j'ai reçu l'autre jour [Op. 105³, 107⁶, 107⁷], me font encore plus de plaisir que je puis d'exprimer. Je suis tant charmé de votre manière de traiter le Thème Autrichien [Op. 105³] en particulier, que je ne puis résister à l'envie d'avoir une autre Thème d'un air *Etranger* Variés par vous, et je vous laisserai le choix de l'air.⁷ Permettez moi seulement de vous prier de le faire aussi agréable, chantant, et brillant que le Thème Autrichien, et aussi facile. Et j'espère que vous le ferez aussi longue que le Thème Russe [Op. 107⁷], avec un petite Adagio cantabile . . ."

⁷ Beethoven complied with this request and sent the Variations on a Theme from Little Russia, Op. 107⁸.

And now, at last, comes the inevitable "but".

"J'ai beaucoup de chagrin à vous dire qu'une des meilleures Pianistes ici, un de mes amis, a essayé avec beaucoup de travail d'exécuter les Thèmes Tyrolois [Op. 107^{1,2}] . . . et qu'elle les a abandonnés en désespoir, les ayant trouvés trop recherchés, chromatiques, et terriblement difficiles. Elle est convaincue que nos amateurs ne pourrait [sic] ni les exécuter, ni les goûter. Le dernière Air j'aime particulièrement mais probablement il seroit inutile de vous demander d'en faire les Variations plus simples et faciles . . . Je crains que cette peine ne vous serait pas agréable, et dans cette cas qu'il me sera inutile de la publier. C'est grand dommage."

This was too much for Beethoven, who was stung to one of his most characteristic retorts. "Mon cher Ami!", he wrote on 25th May, 1819,

"Vous écrivés toujours facile très facile—je m'accommode tout mon possible, mais-mais-mais—l'honneur pourroit pourtant être plus *difficile*, ou plutôt pesante!!!! . . . C'est, je vous jure, malgré cela seulement par complaisance pour vous, puisque je n'ais pas besoin, de me mêler avec de telles petites choses, *mais* il faut toujours pourtant perdre du temps avec de telles bagatelles, et l'honneur ne permet pas, de dire à quelqu'un, ce qu'on en gagne,—je vous souhaite toujours le bon gout pour la vrai Musique et si vous cries facile—je crierai *difficile* pour *facile*!!!!"

Thomson, however, was incorrigible. On 23rd November he again returned to the attack. "Il me fait peine", he wrote,

"d'être obligé de vous dire que vos variations sur l'air [here he quotes the opening of Op. 107³] ne sont pas dans un stile qui réussira en Angleterre, et que voici le cinquième Theme Varié que j'ai été obligé de supprimer, parce qu'ils sont trop recherchés et trop difficiles pour les Dames de ce pays-ci. Quel dommage que votre génie admirable ne peut pas dans ces morceaux s'accomoder à l'habilité de ceux pour qui ils sont composés. J'en souffre beaucoup".

And now follows what, from the bibliographer's point of view, is the most important part of the letter.

"J'ai fait graver onze⁴ des Themes, dont neuf ont été *publiés* depuis quelques tems, mais, à mon grand chagrin, on ne les achète pas! Comme j'ai annoncé pourtant dans les Journaux, que je publierai *douze* Themes, je souhaite de compléter ce nombre; et pour le douzième je propose de prendre un des cinq dont j'ai déjà parlé et qui commence ainsi [opening bars of Op. 107⁵] . . . Je choisis celui-ci, parce qu'il est le plus facile. Il est pourtant *excessivement courte*, n'ayant pas le moitié de la longueur d'aucun des autres. C'est pourquoi j'espère que vous le ferez d'une longueur passable, en y ajoutant quelques variations, chantans et brillants, mais non pas difficiles. Quand vous verrez que vous n'y avez mis que *deux* Variations vous vous conviendrez que je ne demande que ce qui est raisonnable."

To this letter, so far as is known, Beethoven made no reply, but there is again evidence that he did his best to meet Thomson's wishes. There are four variations (or five, counting the finale) in Op. 107⁶ as Beethoven subsequently published it.

One more letter of Thomson's to Beethoven has been preserved. It was

¹ This was the 16th and last of the Themes composed by Beethoven. It was sent to Thomson separately in the summer or early autumn of 1819.

² This must be a mistake. Ten only had been engraved. See p. 50.

written on 14th June, 1820. After complaining that there is no demand for the "Themes" he had published and that his outlay on them was a dead loss he offers to make Beethoven a present of the six pieces which he still had in manuscript, if Beethoven can manage to find a publisher in Vienna to whom he can sell them. In return he asks only for "quelques Airs que vous voudriez composer pour six des Chansons Anglaises que je vous envoyai il y a quelques années".¹⁰ Beethoven made no reply to this letter. He had in fact already made arrangements with Simrock for the publication of all ten of the "Themes" not included in Artaria's collection of the previous year, and Simrock's edition duly appeared in the course of this very month. So far as Beethoven was concerned the transaction was at an end.¹¹

But we must go back to 1819. From time to time it must have occurred to Thomson that one way in which he might to some extent recoup himself would be to dispose of his rights to some other publisher, and in the summer of that year the opportunity came to him unsought. Breitkopf & Härtel of all people began to display an interest in his publications, especially in these very *Airs with Variations*, and Thomson was eager to seize his chance. On 25th October, 1819, he wrote informing them that he had published nine of these pieces and had three (Op. 107^{1,3,5}) still in manuscript.¹² The latter, which, "being foreign themes", he thought more suitable for the foreign market, he offered at the price he had paid for them to Beethoven, namely 25 gold ducats. Breitkopf's reply seems to have been favourable, but a little vague. Thomson could not make out whether they wanted the three MS. variations, the nine he had printed, or the whole twelve. "After much consideration", he says, writing on 9th December, "I thought it right to send all the twelve, and having the opportunity of a vessel sailing from this [*sic*] for Hamburg, I made them up into a parcel, and dispatched it to your address, to the care of Messrs. Beyer & Ferber of that city".

It is curious that it should have been a foreign firm with whom Thomson first entered into negotiations, for the foreign rights were Beethoven's, not his, to dispose of. However, justified or not, the deal came to nothing. Breitkopf & Härtel seem to have soon returned the parcel, possibly on discovering that Artaria, of Vienna, had already published six of the pieces (as Op. 105) in September. When the remaining ten pieces were published by Simrock of Bonn in June, 1820, the foreign market was finally closed to Thomson and he had to look around for a possible English purchaser.

On 8th June, 1821, accordingly, we find him writing to Boosey, apparently not for the first time. As the letter gives some otherwise unrecorded details

¹⁰ In 1813. (See Hadden, *The Life of George Thomson*, p. 327.)

¹¹ The Simrock edition was a technical breach of Beethoven's agreement with Thomson. The text of the agreement has not survived but its general terms are known from Beethoven's letter to Simrock of 14th March, 1820. From this it appears that though the rights of publication on the Continent were reserved to Beethoven it was stipulated that the foreign edition must not come out before the English edition had appeared. The Simrock edition contained no less than seven pieces that Thomson had not yet published.

¹² Thomson's various statements as to the number of pieces he had in his possession are difficult to reconcile. It is only in his letters to Paine & Hopkins (see p. 50) that the full total of 16 is mentioned.

of Thomson's unhappy venture it deserves to be quoted at some length. "I beg to acquaint you", he writes,

"that 200 copies of Beethoven's Nine Themes with Variations, were printed in 1819, and no more; that 100 of these are still in my hands; and that the tenth Theme, (Kenmore,¹² numbered Theme 1st) altho' engraved and 100 copies printed, has not yet been seen by any one. I have indeed neither had leisure nor opportunity to bring them into public notice, and they are unknown to the musical world both in Scotland & England, tho' full of that originality and character which the great author stamps upon all his works. I now send you by the favour of a friend a sight of these Ten Themes, in order that you may examine them attentively: after which if you wish to become proprietors of the copyright and the plates, they shall be yours at the very low price I ask'd from you, merely the prime cost of the compositions & the Engraving which was as follows [& much under Beethoven's usual price, because of the money I had given him for Accompan^{ts} to Songs]¹⁴

For each theme 8 gold ducats or £4 15 0, making for the Ten Themes	£47 10 0
For engraving 66 plates, & for the metal	£22 14 0
	£70 4 0
[Added in pencil: The 11th & 12th Themes	£9 10 0
The engraved title w ^t Port ^t	£14 14 0
	£24 4 0
	£94 8 0]

The Copperplate Title page, including the portrait of Beethoven¹⁵ cost me no less than 14 guineas. For that I would not charge you any thing, as you might probably wish to have a different Title of your own. Nor would I make any charge for 100 copies of the Ten Themes which I would deliver to you, altho' I think the printing & paper did not cost me less than 12 guineas. [Of course you shall have the orig^l MSS.] . . .¹⁴ I have three other Themes of the great Composer, Tyrolese and Russian subjects, which I have not engraved, because I thought them greatly inferior to the Ten—I have not sent them because I do not conceive you wd like them: but if you desire to use them you shall have them at your own price".

Boosey, however, like Breitkopf, seems eventually to have cried off, nor was Thomson any the more successful in the following year, when he asked N. Corri to offer his "12 Themes with Variations by Beethoven, with the Plates, which cost me £94 4s. od., to Goulding's house for £80, including all the printed copies in my hands".

It was, as it happened, purely by accident that Thomson eventually succeeded in ridding himself of his burden. In 1823 he learned to his dismay that the firm of Paine & Hopkins, of 69 Cornhill, had published a number of the Themes with Variations, without so much as an acknowledgement. On 23rd May he wrote them a stiff letter demanding that they either surrendered all the plates and copies or purchased the copyright of all 16 pieces for £70. He remarked incidentally that "the tenth of the Themes (the Scottish melody, Kenmure's on and awa') is engraved, and 100 copies taken, but it is not publish'd. 'Tis so pretty that I was thinking of publishing it singly". Paine

¹² O Kenmure's on and awa', Op. 107⁹.

¹⁴ Added in Thomson's hand. The letter as a whole is a copy by one of Thomson's clerks.

¹⁵ The portrait is based on the engraving made in 1801 by Joh. Neidl after a drawing by Steinhäuser. Beethoven was then 31.

N^o 1 2 3

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Twelve National Airs
With Variations
FOR THE
PIANO-FORTE
And an Accompaniment for the Flute
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& Hopkins replied by making an offer of £50 for the 16 themes with variations and also for 24 foreign melodies selected and harmonized by Beethoven¹⁶ about which Thomson must have written in a letter now lost, and on 13th June, 1823, Thomson reluctantly accepted the offer, though the sum was, he said, less than a third part of his outlay for the two collections. On 17th June accordingly he shipped to Paine & Hopkins the manuscripts of the 16 themes and the 24 melodies and the plates of the 10 themes already engraved, enclosed in a bale of the printed themes. In his letter announcing their despatch he remarks rather wistfully "I was not aware of my having so many printed copies by me as you will find in the bale, amounting, I believe, to no less than 100 copies of Kenmure's on and awa', which I had not published; 94 copies of Themes 1, 2 & 3; 100 do. of 4, 5 & 6; 90 do. of 7, 8 & 9".

But this was not quite the end of Thomson's troubles. Later in the year Paine & Hopkins discovered that "Kenmure's on and awa'", with Beethoven's variations, had already been published by the firm of Reeve & Walker, who, when remonstrated with, declared that it had been printed long before Paine & Hopkins had started music publishing,¹⁷ that it was not copyright and that they intended to resist any exclusive claim to it. Thomson had to recount the whole story of his commissioning the works and to refer to the various documents establishing his rights before Paine & Hopkins could be reassured.

In the event they published twelve of the pieces, but which twelve there is no evidence to show.¹⁸ I have not yet succeeded in tracing a single copy of any one of them. I suspect that they found them as unsaleable as Thomson had done and ultimately sent the main bulk of the edition for pulping. But a few copies may have survived and I am sure that henceforth collectors will keep a sharp look-out for them. Meanwhile any of them who are lucky enough to possess the nine numbers published (with Preston's imprint) by Thomson of Edinburgh may be glad of the assurance that they possess the complete set, and not merely a part, of one of the scarcest Beethoven "first editions".

¹⁶ These were the 19 foreign airs which Beethoven sent to Thomson in 1816, with the addition of five which he "arranged" for him at some later date. The MS. which Thomson assigned to Paine & Hopkins came to light again in 1927, when it was acquired by Breitkopf & Hartel. (See W. Lütge, "Bericht über ein neu aufgefundenes Manuscript, enthaltend 24 Lieder von Beethoven," *Der Bär*, Leipzig, 1927.) A collection of 25 airs, the first nineteen of which were identical with those made over to Paine & Hopkins, had been offered to Breitkopf & Härtel by Thomson himself in 1819. The offer was not accepted.

¹⁷ This was presumably in 1821 as they first appear in the Post Office London Directory for 1822. Their last appearance is in the issue for 1837. Reeve & Walker's edition, which I have not traced, may have been derived, directly or indirectly, from Simrock's edition of ten of the Themes (of which it is No. 9), which appeared as Op. 107 in June, 1820.

¹⁸ They are thus described in an advertisement on the back of an edition of Henri Herz's Variations on Rossini's March in *Mose in Egitto*, published by them not later than 1834: "Beethoven. National Airs, with Vars. (Fl. or Vn. Acc.) Nos. 1-12, each 2 . . o".

Beethoven in 1950

BY

PHILIP F. RADCLIFFE

In matters of musical taste, not only "La Donna" but the whole of the human race is remarkably "mobile". For various reasons this is particularly noticeable in the present century; the absence of any kind of "lingua Franca" in modern music has led to a general restlessness, both among composers, who usually need to experiment far more than their predecessors before finding their ultimate style, and for the listeners, who are liable to be swept to and fro by conflicting schools of thought and rapidly changing fashions. And these changes of fashion affect not only contemporary but also much of the older music. In the case of some composers, such as Franck and Tchaikovsky, it has simply been a question of being now exalted to the skies, and then severely thrown down again. But with Beethoven it is less plain-sailing owing to his more complex personality. It is difficult to imagine the music of Franck or Tchaikovsky being liked at different periods for entirely different reasons; with Beethoven it can happen quite easily.

To some extent his biographers are to blame. Determined to present, at all costs, as heroic a picture of him as possible, they have done their best to turn the story of his life, with its perpetual muddles and frictions, into a grandiose Aeschylean tragedy, which they have then proceeded to read into his music, forgetting that the creative output of an artist may show just those qualities that are least in evidence in his every-day dealings with his fellow-creatures. Also the division of his work by Fétis, Lenz, and many later critics into three periods has led to a regrettable tendency to speak of early, middle and late Beethoven as though they were practically three different composers. It is easy to see how this arose; as Beethoven's style developed, his idiom undoubtedly changed more than that of any of the earlier classics, and often in a manner that must have seemed startling to his contemporaries. But to later generations it is easier to get a more unified view of his work, and it can be seen clearly now that Beethoven, with all his strong independence and individuality, was never the type of revolutionary whose sole aim is to break away from the past at all costs, but that even in his latest works it is possible to find things that would fit quite happily into the idiom of an earlier generation.

During the last century criticism was apt to concern itself overmuch with extra-musical matters; moral values, philosophic messages and so forth were expected of a composer, and most emphasis was laid on the works of Beethoven that could in some way or other be dramatized. Much significance was attached to his statement that the opening theme of the fifth Symphony was intended to paint a picture of "Fate knocking at the door", and high-minded critics forgot that on another occasion he stated that this theme was inspired by the song of a yellow-hammer. Some writers, moved with sympathy for the

personal tragedy of his deafness, have read into all his work the picture of an angry rebel, for ever shaking his fist defiantly at the powers above; others, more ideologically minded, have stressed his sudden erasure of Napoleon's name from the title page of the third Symphony, and seen in his music a socialist manifesto, exalting "universal brotherhood". It is absurd to deny that composers can be inspired to write great music by non-musical ideas or events, but in the long run their work will stand or fall on its musical merits rather than on the ideas that originally inspired it. This can be said even of such composers as Gluck and Wagner, who, when writing their later works, regarded themselves as musical dramatists rather than as musicians pure and simple. For both men a considerable amount of theorising was necessary before they could find their ultimate style, but their work has lived because, having formed their own particular theories, they were great enough musicians frequently to forget them. The ultra-emotional, hero-worshipping attitude felt in the last century towards certain of Beethoven's middle-period works can often be traced to associations resulting in many cases from some remark thrown off impulsively by Beethoven himself, without any idea of its being handed down to posterity; if these works have been treated with exaggerated reverence in the past, they are frequently dismissed now with an equally exaggerated irritation.

At the present moment there is no attempt to deny the greatness of Beethoven's last works, and, especially in the case of the posthumous quartets, this admiration is based largely on the very qualities that presented most difficulty to earlier generations, the spare contrapuntal texture, and the more reticent and sometimes abrupt modes of expression. There is no doubt that in his later years Beethoven showed an ever increasing interest in counterpoint, but it is rash to infer that this was the result of a complete change of personality. The counterpoint in his early works, though less frequent, is fluent, able, and free from suggestions of the sham antique, and even in the last quartets he can on occasion use the simplest block harmony and the most familiar types of accompaniment. Apart from the ninth Symphony, the Sonata Op. 106, the Mass in D and the string Quartet in C sharp minor, the last works are not on so large a scale as most of those of the middle period, and aim mainly at concentration and subtlety of detail. In the middle period the scale is usually larger and the texture simpler, and it is the combination of these two characteristics that is responsible for most of the present-day adverse criticism. Beethoven soon began to extend the size and scope of the musical forms that he inherited from Haydn and Mozart, but he was not concerned with elaborating their harmonic language. Outlines rather than detail interested him, and some of the most characteristic passages in his earlier works are those in which he produces an atmosphere of prolonged suspense by continuing with one harmony for a long time; two very impressive instances are to be found at the end of the development sections of the first movements of the sonatas in B flat, Op. 22, and in D, Op. 28. Effects of this kind occur more and more frequently as the size of the works increases, and in a very great variety of moods. Sometimes the effect is of great spaciousness, as in the opening of the

Trio in B flat, Op. 97, sometimes of pleasant drowsiness, as in the development of the first movement of the *Pastoral* Symphony, sometimes of mystery, as in the passage that leads from the scherzo to the finale in the fifth Symphony: particularly characteristic are such things as the openings of the Quartet in F from Op. 59 and the *Waldstein* Sonata, where the harmonic breadth is combined with great rhythmic energy. But to those whose delight in music arises mainly from subtle details passages of this kind may seem merely dull, and lacking both in the graciousness of the eighteenth and the rich and varied colour of the later nineteenth century.

The precedence of outline over detail can hardly be over-stressed in connection with the works of Beethoven's middle period. So many of the larger movements are essentially cumulative in their effect, and sometimes they have surprisingly little thematic attractiveness. The same may be said of some of Bach's fugues, but the effect is very different owing to the perpetually contrapuntal texture of the music. Again, Sibelius resembles Beethoven in his love of building up large structures upon apparently insignificant material, but the unfailingly picturesque colouring of his orchestral music may make it more easily accessible to modern ears. The first movement of Beethoven's third Symphony is particularly characteristic of its period. It is the longest of his symphonic movements, and of its many themes the only one that possesses much melodic distinction has, from the orthodox standpoint, no business to be there at all. Harmonically, there are one or two miraculous moments to which no sensitive ears can be indifferent, but also much that is built unashamedly on the most obvious tonic-and-dominant *formulae*. Yet the total impression of the movement is not only of a fine piece of solid musical architecture, but also of an overwhelming emotional experience covering an astonishingly wide range of mood. One of the works of this period at which most hostile criticism is at the moment directed is the "*Sonata Appassionata*" which it may be of interest to examine for a few moments. Here is the familiar mixture of rhythmic energy and harmonic breadth; three times in the work there is a prolonged emphasis on the chord of the diminished seventh, but with very different results. In the first movement it comes at a moment when the gradually gathering tension at last reaches boiling point, at the end of the *Andante*, as a sudden overwhelming shock, and, at the end of the development section of the finale, as the one reflective moment in an exceptionally restless and stormy movement. It might be argued by the opposition that to use the same chord for three such dissimilar effects argues a lack of harmonic inventiveness but the invention of new sounds for their own sake was never one of Beethoven's aims, and it can hardly be denied that in all three passages the diminished seventh comes with an air of complete inevitability. The work is an obvious target for those who criticize the music of Beethoven's middle period for being over-rhetorical, but to dismiss rhetoric altogether from music can only too easily become a step towards preciosity. Anyhow, the defiant gestures and violent climaxes of the *Appassionata* only present one side of the picture and against them may be set the mysterious stillness of the opening and the quiet theme of the *Andante* which, apart from a single point of chromatic colour,

uses the plainest and most diatonic harmonies with a solemnity for which "sublime" is surely not too strong a word.

A characteristic of the music of Beethoven's middle period, which its adverse critics are apt to ignore, is its variety. Even if the more vehement and full-blooded works are to be dismissed as "dated", we are left with many others written at the same period, but very different in atmosphere; the subtlety and serenity of such works as the piano Sonata in F sharp, the fourth piano Concerto, the cello Sonata in A and the violin Sonata in G, Op. 96, are as characteristic of Beethoven as his more heroic and rhetorical music, and cannot be disregarded without a totally inadequate view of his personality. And, as has already been suggested earlier in this article, the division between the three periods has often been overstressed. Beethoven in his later years sometimes expressed a violent dislike for some of his early works, but there is much in his music that suggests a lingering affection for the past, and it is perhaps significant that reminiscences of the *Largo* from Haydn's 88th Symphony, which seems to have made a particular appeal to him, should appear in five works ranging from Op. 10 to Op. 110. The type of tune most widely associated with him, severely simple in outline and moving mainly by step, is liable to be found throughout his work, from the early piano Trio in C minor, Op. 1, to the string Quartet, Op. 135. But, though the most familiar, this is not the only kind of melodic language of which he was master. He had no love for Italian opera, but, like several other composers, he was influenced by it more than he realized, and there has been a tendency to underrate the part played in his music by melody of a luxuriant Italianate kind; here again instances may be found at any period, the most beautiful of all being perhaps the *Benedictus* from the Mass in D, the more florid sections of the *Adagio* of the ninth Symphony, and the exquisite, rather Chopinesque transition theme in the *Adagio* of the Sonata, Op. 106. Fashions in music, as has already been suggested, change easily, and at the moment Beethoven seems in some ways to fall between two stools; those who are attracted by the later Romantics find him aloof and impersonal, while those whose sympathies are more with earlier periods find him over-emotional. Familiar though much of his work is, there is no composer of whom it is harder to obtain a really balanced and comprehensive view, and it may well be that, even in 1950, there are things about him that we have not yet learned.

Unorthodox Finales

BY

JOHN CLAPHAM

COMPOSERS attract our interest in innumerable ways, their methods varying from time to time in order to meet the needs of a particular case. Occasionally, for example, nineteenth-century composers wished to startle us by commencing on discords, as in the finale of Beethoven's ninth Symphony, but they would have defeated their own ends if they had adopted such a summons to attention frequently. A more subtle method of arousing our interest or curiosity at the beginning of a movement is to be found in a gambit occurring in certain finales of Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, Dvořák and Brahms. This gambit has not been used very frequently, and not, as far as I am aware, by Mendelssohn.

Generally a movement begins in the same key that it is going to end in, and in a classical or nineteenth-century work we expect this to be so. Below is given a list, which is not claimed to be exhaustive, of works with finales beginning in foreign keys but ending normally. In none of the cases is the foreign key used in a transitional or introductory passage leading to the finale proper. It is an essential feature of the movements concerned, and in each case it is used for the initial themes when they are first heard and when they return later in their respective movements; except in one instance, the Schumann Quintet.

		<i>Key of Work</i>	<i>Key of beginning of Finale</i>
Beethoven	Fourth piano Concerto	G	Subdominant
	String Quartet, Op. 59, No. 2	E minor	Submediant major
	<i>Archduke</i> Trio	B flat	Subdominant
	String Quartet, Op. 130	B flat	Supertonic minor
Schubert	Piano Sonata, Op. Posth.	B flat	Supertonic minor
Schumann	Piano Quintet	E flat	Mediant minor
Dvořák	String Quartet, Op. 16	A minor	Submediant major
	Piano Trio, Op. 21	B flat	Submediant minor
	Symphony No. 3	F	Mediant minor
	Piano Trio, Op. 26	G minor	Submediant major
	String Quartet, Op. 80	E	Mediant minor
	Sextet	A	Supertonic minor
Brahms	String Quintet, Op. 111	G	Mediant minor

A glance at the above list shows that the submediant major is preferred when the work is in a minor key. When the key of the work is major the choice has been wider. The mediant has been chosen by Schumann, Dvořák (twice), and Brahms, the supertonic by Beethoven, Schubert and Dvořák, and the submediant minor by Dvořák. Beethoven alone chose the subdominant and used it twice. Dvořák has a preference, shared by none of the others, for a finale commencing in the same key as the slow movement. The first four of his six works listed follow this plan.

Unless we realize what the composer is doing we inevitably miss some of the interest or humour of movements of this kind. In some cases we can hardly fail to be aware that there is something exceptional afoot, but in others it is quite possible to hear or play one of these works without noticing anything unusual, unless we happen to be "key-conscious".

The rondo finale of Beethoven's string Quartet in E minor starts in a rollicking humour:



As Ex. 1 shows, the opening, when separated from its context, gives the impression that C major is the principal key, and that the modulation to E minor in the eighth and ninth bars is incidental. This impression is confirmed when the passage is repeated three times in the first fifty bars, with the return to C heralded each time with a *crescendo*. Whenever the rondo theme returns later it appears in the same pair of keys. The underlying reason for beginning the movement in this manner is clear enough. Each of the first three movements has the same tonic, E, so another key needs to be emphasized here for the sake of contrast.

It is possible that Beethoven made the rondo of the *Archduke Trio* start in E flat instead of B flat because he felt the need to stress the return to flats after having written the variation movement in D major. This rondo starts in a rather similar manner to the Quartet finale, but the foreign key is less emphasized, and the passage is repeated only once. In neither of these cases is it clear when hearing these openings that it is the principal key which has been reached by the ninth or tenth bar. In the E minor Quartet a considerable time elapses before we recognize our tonal bearings, unless of course we recollect the key of the earlier movements. In the finale of the Trio, and also in the finale of the fourth piano Concerto, the ambiguous opening bars are followed by passages in the tonic key which leave us in no doubt as to which is the main key. In all four Beethoven examples and in the Schubert Sonata the opening bars of the finales are repeated to point the joke.

Ex. 2 shows the second appearance of the opening bars of the rondo in the fourth piano Concerto (bars 11 to 20) in a more florid version than that announced by the orchestra. The piano introduces Fs in the first half of the theme for the first time, making them naturals, to show that the chord of C must not be taken as the subdominant chord in the key of G, as it might conceivably have been in bars 1 to 5.

Ex. 2



Brahms' method is rather different from that of Beethoven and Schubert. The finale of the G major Quintet opens with a soft nine-bar phrase for the first viola entirely in B minor and ending with an imperfect cadence. The continuation is shown in Ex. 3. The first cadence in G occurs in bars 10 and 11, but C sharps return immediately. A new theme commences in the second half of bar 13 establishing the key of G. C sharps continue to appear throughout this G major section, but they are now treated as chromatic notes in the new key. The C sharp in bar 16, part of a supertonic chromatic seventh, is firmly anchored to the key of G and given greater zest by having an inner dominant pedal, D, sounded with it.

Ex. 3



Beethoven, Schubert and Brahms all reach the main key in ten bars or so. Dvořák's normal method is to postpone its arrival much longer, and in the Symphony we are made to wait for fifty-four bars. In the Trio in B flat and the string Quartet in E Dvořák announces a new theme at the moment that the tonic is established, as Brahms does in his string Quintet, which was written about fourteen years later.

In the string Quartet in A minor and the Symphony in F Dvořák draws attention to the arrival of the principal key by presenting a new version of his

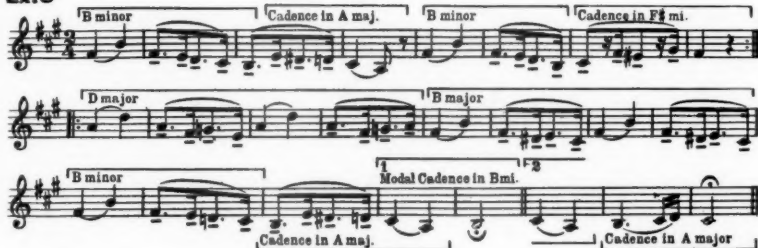
main theme at that moment. In the Symphony the advent of F comes as a complete surprise, for thorough preparations were made for a modulation to D and the change of direction is left to the last moment. The Symphony theme and its transformation are shown in Ex. 4.

Ex. 4



The finale of the Dvořák Sextet in A is a set of variations, and so cannot be compared with any of the above examples. It is necessary to quote the whole theme:

Ex. 5



It will be seen that B minor is the key which predominates and that four phrases begin in B minor or major. There is a brief touch of A major in bars 3 and 4, but the second cadence in that key is overlapped and cancelled out by the modal cadence in B minor in the 1st time bars. A major does not come into its own until the end of the repeat of the second portion of the theme. All the variations follow this key plan, but the latter half of the *stretto* and the *coda* are in A major.

The finale of the Schumann piano Quintet is one of the most peculiar ever penned. It is strange to find that the tonic key, E flat, is hardly used until halfway through the recapitulation. There are only eight bars (bars 21 to 29) in this key in the first subject section, but a new theme is presented at the same time; there are two bars in the same key during the course of the second subject, which are of no significance. The exposition begins in G minor and the recapitulation a semitone higher! The second subject on its return and the long fugal *coda* emphasize the tonic key sufficiently to counteract Schumann's earlier perversity.

Thoughts on Les Troyens

BY

E. H. W. MEYERSTEIN

THERE are alternative ways of looking at Berlioz' musical career, externally or internally. The second alone is truly rewarding, for it is to regard him as a musician with an individual speech from the very first, continually gaining in richness and depth. From this angle it is important to note, as Wotton did,* that in the final air in *La Mort de Sardanapale*, the Cantata with which Berlioz won the *Prix de Rome* in 1830, there are anticipations of Cassandra's air immediately before the Trojan March and of Dido's farewell to the City before she ascends the funeral pyre. It may be significant also, perhaps, to see, as I do, an identity of idea between the appearance of the *idée fixe* before the guillotine falls in Op. 14 and the cadence of the love-duet immediately before Mercury's triple call "Italie" and the two bars of crashing chords as he disappears; or again to note a thematic and emotional similarity between the rejoicings at the very start of *La Prise de Troie* and some of the 6/8 measures in the *Carnaval Romain* overture, or (to mention two works of the same period) the likeness of the G major Chorus "*Gloire à Didon*" to the G major *Marche Nuptiale* in the second act of *Béatrice et Bénédicte*. That is the internal method of approach. The external is that of the person who tends to regard Berlioz as a feuilletonist, an incorrigible *farceur* and an inspirer, conscious or unconscious, of anecdotage. To such a person his career, seen as a whole, is that of a French composer endeavouring all his life to obtain fame with an opera (the passport to musical fame in France) only to give up the game after two heroic battles on the tragic and comic fronts with works based on Virgilian and Shakespearian *libretti* of his own arranging. This is the price wit and a vivacious prose style charged with imagination have to pay. Even now Berlioz' musical stature would be more immediately realized had these gifts, which many a literary man might envy him, been absent from his personality. Then those who call him "liar" would not have to explain that no degree of *moral* obliquity attaches to the term, as they use it in his case, and that *mystificateur* covers much of the anecdotage far more happily. Moreover, Englishmen are not given to saying (though—who knows?—perhaps they will be) that Shakespeare's silence between *The Tempest* and his death in 1616 was due to a consciousness of failure, or invalidism. We should be chary, therefore, in spite of the expressions of despair in the *Mémoires* (and Berlioz was habitually despairing, as really lonely people always are), of attributing his musical silence between *Béatrice et Bénédicte* and his death in 1869 to any other cause than a proud consciousness that he had reached his full stature as an artist in his last two works, though he may have preferred his Requiem. It is my personal conviction that his last work, the comedy, is the crown of

* "An Unknown Score of Berlioz" (MR. IV, pp. 224-8).

his achievement, because it is perfectly realized, and that the tragedy, which is my business now, could not be perfectly realized because it is not a complete design, but a portion of a design, an intentional *torso*, as its composer must have been aware when he described it to the Princess (or to Liszt, through her) as "vaste composition lyrique sur le 2^{me} et 4^{me} livre de l'Énéide".

Now the master-key to an understanding of *Les Troyens* is its dedication. True, there is a dedication to the Princesse Sayn-Wittgenstein prefixed to some copies only of the first edition of the piano score; but "DIVO VIRGILIO" stands at the head of the title-pages of both parts, and though lines from *The Merchant of Venice* are embodied in Aeneas' and Dido's love-duet, and a non-Virgilian Hylas (a Trojan, not an Argonaut) is introduced, the prevailing sentiment is utterly Virgilian and could not have been caught by anyone who had not quite early, as we know Berlioz did from the very first chapter of the *Mémoires* (why should we disbelieve *that*?), taken Virgil, in no Dantesque manner, to his heart. The peculiarly Virgilian sentiment is pity for the fallen in spite of preoccupation with destined victory of an imperial idea. This informs the entire *Aeneid*. What reader has ever cared for Aeneas' *pietas* and the assured triumph of his cause? It is those who are overridden by that juggernaut, Dido and Turnus, who win all suffrages. So that in its claims to human sympathy the design of the *Aeneid* fails or rather succeeds in spite of itself; we are continually liking the wrong people. Berlioz' "lyric composition" (he did not call it an opera, observe) deals only with two books of that epic starring a hero who is no hero at all but someone who has to win by the rules of the game; it has not even Virgil's completeness, for we never reach Italy, the promised land. Had Berlioz, like Purcell, concerned himself merely with the episode of Dido and Aeneas, there would be nothing to cavil at, but starting from the fall of Troy, as he did, made at least a third part a necessity: "Italie! Italie! Italie!" leaves us in the air. I am not saying that he was not aware of this, on the contrary, I think he was very much aware of it, and that is why he made his unifying idea the Trojan March, an empire on the move, as it were, now exultant, now dejected, that is heard when the Wooden Horse is brought into Troy, when the Trojans arrive at Carthage and when they leave it. The empire is still moving when the work ends, moving away from the havoc it has caused in a kingdom that is now cursing it! This is not and never could be an exalting or a satisfactory close. Only think of the close of *Fidelio*. But it is Berlioz' way of looking at things. Even the comedy opera that succeeded *Les Troyens* closes with the words "Nous redeviendrons ennemis demain", a delightful stroke of humour, and perfectly right *there*. The end of *Les Troyens* is *right* enough, but it is not final like the other. A stage in the imperial progress has been passed, that is all. Note that he did not dare, like Virgil, to make Dido round on Aeneas, in his presence, for leaving her and Carthage. That *débat* is omitted from his scheme; it is easy to see why.

Berlioz appears to have started the music of his vast lyric composition by writing the love-scene between Dido and Aeneas. Dido was the first figure in the *Aeneid* to strike him, not unlike St. Augustine in this respect, and he made a beginning with the literary love of his infancy. There is a balance

between the two parts, *La Prise de Troie* and *Les Troyens à Carthage*, unequal as they are in length: the soprano in each has a lover, and both sopranos kill themselves. All the episode of Cassandra and Coroebus is developed out of less than six lines in *Aen.* II:

iuvenisque Coroebus
Mygdonides—illis ad Troiam forte diebus
Venerat insano Cassandrae incensus amore
et gener auxilium Priamo Phrygibusque ferebat,
infelix qui non sponsae praecepta furentis
audierit!

The pathos of the line of one word seems to have gone straight to the French musician's heart. Virgil does not tell us of her reaction to Coroebus' death, but only that he was killed. The other great instance of balance (for there are four spectres in the second part as against one in the first) is the use of pantomime. The effective Poussinesque bringing of Astyanax by his mother Andromache before his grandparents, inspired by Virgil's two lines

saepius Andromache ferre incommitata solebat
ad soceros et avo puerum Astyanacta trahebat

has its companion *mélodrame* in the *Chasse Royale et Orage*, where the hint given by Weber's "Wolf's Glen", worked out in the "Ride to the Abyss" in *La Damnation de Faust*, receives its apotheosis. No composer of a work on Dido and Aeneas could have neglected *this* Virgilian source, but the pathos of the mute Astyanax was left to Berlioz to seize. In our own time Britten has made a not dissimilar use of a dumb personage in the boy in *Peter Grimes*. There is a further balance between this child and the sailor Hylas (Berlioz admitted that he was thinking of his sailor son here) who comes forward only to sing his nostalgic air of three verses before the Trojan fleet leaves Carthage; and no tenderer an expression of youth can have been heard in French opera since the romance ("À peine de sortir de l'enfance") in Méhul's *Joseph* (1807). It is in this sentiment for young doomed things, rather than in moments of terror and astonishment like the Laocoon episode or Dido's last hours that Berlioz' inmost Virgilian affinities are most truly discovered. Before passing to the Oxford production I would venture the suggestion that the choice of a 6/8 *Barcarolle* measure for love-scenes, e.g. the Septuor and famous duet here and for "Vous soupirez, madame" and "Je vais d'un coeur aimant" in the comedy opera may owe something to Giulia's E flat aria (*Andante sostenuto*) in *La Vestale* (1807), an opera of which Berlioz was extremely fond. The mood of its funeral march just as much as songs of Gluck like "*Divinités du Styx*" seems to breathe round Dido's end.

On the whole the Oxford Opera Club is to be congratulated in presenting for its 25th anniversary, under Professor Westrup, this monumental work, though I should have been happier if *either* *La Prise de Troie* or *Les Troyens à Carthage* had been given *entire*. The cuts (that of the *Hunt and Storm* is sanctioned, ironically, by Berlioz himself) were really too drastic, all Coroebus except his utterance as a spectre and all the incidental music: these are the things that stick in my gizzard. A Cassandra without her lover is just a

raving female and it is astonishing that Barbara Rawson made her as moving and as tragic as she did under this handicap, while the absence of dances shed an inspissated gloom over the whole show, increased by the plain set with nothing to suggest the sea or ships (David Galliver, a wonderful Hylas, might have been Dick Whittington minus his cat). The non-existence of a pyre for Dido, whose last scenes were played on the level with eight priests, two of them with skulls, like a Vehmgericht of vultures on a Tower of Silence erect above her, depressed me intensely, robbing the end of all real majesty in spite of the protagonist. Indeed, the only successful pageantry, of which the work is full, was the scene with Astyanax (Master Denis Westrup) and the presence of Dido's coloured attendant (Eldred Jones). John Kentish sang well as Aeneas, better on the second night than on the first, but though Berlioz has omitted Anchises altogether and made play with Ascanius (Catherine Foster) this is not a part that endears itself to all, in spite of its nervous declamation. The Dido of Arda Mandikian (her first operatic part, I understand) was one of those things that I shall never forget; vocalization apart, to watch her was like watching a perfect Phèdre. I have only heard her sing Greek music before, but she is a *diva* of whom the Paris Opéra might be proud. In the 6/8 duet with Anna (Thetis Blacker, stronger on the second night) which, for me, is the most intensely passionate number in the whole work, she compelled one to feel that the emotion of love, as Berlioz expresses it, is a yearning to recapture a childhood's vision of absolute purity. Narbal (Robert Ponsonby) came off in his duet with Anna. Iopas (Brian Anderson) was not compelling, but his *aria* has not the same appeal as that of Hylas, who, after Dido, was the bright spot of the performance. The harmonics of the violins in the scene of the spectres struck an authentic terror, Homeric, like bats. There were only two harps, but it would be unjust to dwell on the orchestral shortcomings or on the difficulty of hearing the *words* of the chorus in such a spirited and audacious essay. The work was sung in French and the orchestral parts were provided by the French Government. When the Oxford Opera Club gives *Béatrice et Bénédict* there should be no cuts at all.

'Kapellmeistermusik'?

BY

ADOLF ABER

WHEN I received the good news that THE MUSIC REVIEW was to devote one of its issues to Paul Hirsch in honour of his 70th birthday, and the Editor kindly invited me to make some contribution, my first idea was to dig into those imposing catalogues of the Hirsch Library in the hope of finding a theme. But then I had second thoughts. This was to be a friendly birthday party: what better occasion for getting something off my chest? So here is a discussion of precisely the kind that Paul Hirsch likes. It needs no blackboard or reference books; yet it may lead us some way into the *Inner Sanctum* of creative musical work.

The discussion I have in mind centres round a German word that is now used in a good many other languages: *Kapellmeistermusik*. For centuries the word had a very proud meaning; but in our time it has lost caste. Its sense is now derogatory; when applied in a review of a new work it kills quicker than a whole page of fault-finding analysis. "Waste paper basket" is scarcely more severe.

How could such a change of meaning come about? Has the new meaning any basis in facts? Or is the word just another piece of thoughtlessness that has crept into our terminology? Does it say something that might better be expressed otherwise? This is the kind of question I should like to discuss.

It would be entirely useless to employ the historical method to try and trace the development of the modern meaning. I do not even know whether the word was ever used before Marsop wrote his essay "Neudeutsche Kapellmeistermusik" in 1885. The idea that there might be something suspicious in a Kapellmeister's music would have been entirely alien to any musician or layman from times immemorial to the days of the Viennese classics. The position was in fact exactly reversed. A Kapellmeister who was not able to provide his singers or instrumentalists with his own music would have been just unthinkable; his activity as a composer formed the most important part of his job. This rule applied in church and concert room as well as in the theatre. During the period of musical history that we may call "the age of the manuscript", there were very few works, needing a conductor, which the composer himself did not take care of at the first performance. The Kapellmeister who was first known merely as an interpreting artist is a very recent figure in musical history; but it is just this new type of musician that has made possible an entirely new conception of the word *Kapellmeistermusik* which is certainly not flattering.

The word as it is now generally (and I think internationally) understood suggests that composer and conductor have drifted apart to such a degree that the latter had better not even try to be a creative musician. It suggests that if he did so he would be bound to fail, that his daily work as a conductor,

forcing him to give all his musical thinking and feeling to hundreds of scores, was bound to deprive him of his own creative power; that, if he did try to compose, he could not free himself from the many musical impressions which had left their mark on his brain; and that the result would be some kind of second-hand music without original character and value of its own.

There is just a possibility of giving the word another, much more harmless and in fact merely technical meaning. That is, if it were used in much the same way as "pianist's music", "violinist's music", "flautist's music", and so on. This means that the work in question is just written in order to let the instrument as such develop all its highest qualities of sound and technique whilst at the same time allowing the player to show his mastery over the instrument in many respects. Liszt's works for the piano, Paganini's for the violin are to a very large extent written with this aim in view. But can anyone lay his hands on an orchestral score which a Kapellmeister wrote in order to let his orchestra's and his own virtuosity shine brighter? If so, we should indeed be entitled to talk about a piece of *Kapellmeistermusik* with as much right of independent existence as for instance Brahms' piano arrangement of Bach's *Chaconne* for the left hand.

But where is that music, and where is the *Kapellmeistermusik* in the modern sense of the word? Here is quite an entertaining little game for the friendly reader who is interested in this discussion. May I invite him to take his musical dictionary from the shelf and look up the articles on the following masters of the baton whose names, chosen at random, are given here without any order in mind: Bülow, Richter, Mottl, Toscanini, Nikisch, Schuch, Mengelberg, Furtwängler, Klemperer, Monteux, Stokowski, Walter, Wood, Beecham, Koussevitzky. Just extract from the dictionary the titles of their compositions and try to find any of their works which went into the repertoire of our symphony concerts or survived in soloists' recitals, in church or opera house. The number will be found to be so small that one cannot possibly form them into a category of *Kapellmeistermusik*. Nor would the number grow very much if the reader added another dozen or two of his own favourite conductors.

Is that perhaps the proof of the pudding? Is it a fact that permanent and intensive activity as a conductor is bound to deprive the interpreting artist of genuine creative activity? Is it true that great conductors lose any ambition of competing with their contemporary composers, fearing that an excursion into the realm of creative art would result in some sort of *Kapellmeistermusik*?

For those who are fond of statistics and like to draw conclusions from dry figures, this may appear plausible; but there is overwhelming evidence that real creative genius will manifest itself even with a conductor who takes his job as seriously as any other colleague does. And there is no evidence whatever that a minor creative artist would have become a great composer if he had never touched a baton in all his life.

Let us take one great name first: Richard Strauss. When he came to London for the last time and was an almost daily guest at my house he did not talk very much about his compositions; he just revelled in memories of his sixty

years as a conductor. I have myself had the great privilege of following his career for well over forty years and I am quite sure that I would be much the poorer without all these delightful recollections of countless evenings in opera houses and concert halls with Strauss conducting. Until an authentic biography of Strauss is available, few will realize what he achieved for contemporary composers as an enthusiastic interpreter of their works—particularly when he conducted the symphony concerts of the Berlin "Staatskapelle" at the Berlin opera house. But many will gladly acknowledge their debt of gratitude for the hours of exaltation when he devoted himself to Mozart and Beethoven, to Verdi and Wagner. And as we discuss *Kapellmeistermusik*, we ought not to forget one particular feature: his improvised piano accompaniments to Mozart's *recitativo secco*. They showed at all times a unity between interpreting and creative artist which gave the word *Kapellmeistermusik* an entirely new and sublime meaning. If only this particular brand of real *Kapellmeistermusik* could be kept alive and developed! A good many performances of *Figaro* or *Così fan tutte* are made unbearable by a cruel lack of imagination on the conductor's part. Here would be his golden opportunity of producing some genuine and legitimate *Kapellmeistermusik* by a witty and fluent execution of the piano accompaniment which looks so bone-dry in our printed vocal scores.

Strauss' name is, however, not the only one that makes it difficult to believe in *Kapellmeistermusik* in its derogatory meaning, as something unavoidably connected with a conductor's activity. There is that other great conductor: Gustav Mahler. Nobody has ever dared to throw any doubt on his great qualities as a conductor. His almost fanatical devotion to the great classics is known and praised as unanimously as his keen interest in anything new and valuable which came his way and which he, as a conductor, thought was worth fighting for. If he had never written a single note of his own, his place in musical history would be exalted and assured for these reasons. And yet: it appears that this great Kapellmeister's stature as a creative composer is growing all the time, and I believe the days have passed for ever when any music critic would dare to mention the word *Kapellmeistermusik* in connection with Mahler's works. It is universally recognized now that there is in these scores a genuine creative genius, though it may express itself in a musical language calculated to shatter all the existing forms of his time.

It would be quite easy—and I gladly leave that to the interested reader—to introduce more great names into the discussion. (Mendelssohn for instance would be one of them and Wagner another.) But I think I have proved my point: if an artist has the creative power in himself to become a composer of substance, he will preserve this power even if he spends a life-time as a conductor. And if, on the other hand, a composing conductor gets under the spell of major (or very often minor) masters, he would have experienced the same misfortune even if he had never touched a baton in his life.

Is there any conceivable or justifiable reason why the name of just one musical profession should have been selected to indicate a kind of art that shows lack of originality and character and less genuine creative power?

Why run down a profession which, although perhaps a little overrated nowadays, is a perfectly honourable and legitimate one and to whose members we are all indebted? Unless and until somebody can prove that the proportion of weak and unoriginal works coming from the desk of a composing conductor is any bigger than that of works coming from any other quarter, it is unfair and unjust to use the word *Kapellmeistermusik* in its modern meaning. I will even go further than that. The very fact that a remarkably large number of our greatest conductors have not even tried to compete with the contemporary composers whose works they helped to make popular, shows that they were and are a good deal more self-critical than others who start composing without ever asking themselves the question: Have I really anything new and important to say? There can hardly be a better training in this respect than the conductor's job which forces him to work his way through dozens of mediocre works before he reaches a score that shows the hand of a creative spirit. "They have been warned", and many of them have given better heed to this warning than some who reach for the stars.

There is only one question left. If I have succeeded in my reasoning and if the word is to be discarded as a misnomer in its modern meaning, what are we going to use instead? Why not have a look round and see what art and literature are doing whenever they wish to describe the efforts of somebody who, with a certain craftsmanship and cleverness swims in the broad stream for his own enjoyment, who may be carried by the stream for a good stretch until he disappears never to be heard of again?

Is there a word to describe that class of artist? I myself, long accustomed to a certain German usage, would say "epigone"; but I find that in English the word is rare and carries a somewhat different sense. If anybody has a better suggestion, let him come forward with it by all means. Anything will do rather than this poor, degraded and degrading word *Kapellmeistermusik*.

Theme and Variations

WITH BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON PLEYEL'S HAYDN EDITIONS

BY

OTTO ERICH DEUTSCH

THE original meaning of the word *Theme*, as a musical term, has recently been defined as "a principal melodic feature in a composition, differing from a Subject by greater length and more self-contained completeness . . ." (Eric Blom, *Everyman's Dictionary of Music*, 1946, p. 619).

There is, however, another meaning in use, although no definition of this term can be found in the dictionaries of music, from Brossard to Illing. In the other, and strangely derived, sense a *Theme* means, of course, the first, or introductory bars of a musical piece, or even of a theme in the original meaning, and these bars are sometimes called *Incipit thématique*, or simply *Incipit* (Charles van den Borren, in *Acta musicologica*, 1934, p. 28, and Alfred Einstein, in his preface to the third edition of Köchel's Mozart Catalogue, 1937, p. xli).¹ The only exception in the range of dictionaries quoted above are the first and second editions of Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, where the editor himself gave an explanation of the term *Thematic Catalogue*² as "a catalogue of musical works, in which, in addition to the title and particulars of each, the first few bars—the theme—either of the whole work or of each movement are given in musical notation" (Grove, IV. 99, 1889; Grove, V. 80 f., 1910).³

The *Oxford English Dictionary* of 1933 defines *Thematic* as "containing the opening themes or passages of musical pieces", and gives as the only reference for *Thematic Catalogue* the name of C. F. Pohl and the year 1878 (instead of 1879), because Pohl mentioned in Vol. I, p. 66, of Grove's *Dictionary*, first edition, Mozart's own work list under that term in his article on Johann André. The musical term *Theme*, however, although part of the definition quoted, means to the *Oxford Dictionary* nothing other than "any of the principal melodies or motives in a sonata, symphony, etc.". The *Deutsche Wörterbuch*, founded by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, in a volume published in 1935, defines *Thema* as "der Grundgedanke eines Tonstückes" (the germ of a musical piece) but *thematisch* as "dem Thema entsprechend" (corresponding to the theme), and has nothing to say of *Thematischer Katalog*.

* * *

The first *Thematic Catalogue* published under this description was, it seems, printed by Johann Julius Hummel at Amsterdam: "Catalogue Thématique ou Commencement de toutes les Oeuvres de Musique, qui sont du propre

¹ The Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, started in 1942 a *Catalogue par incipit musicaux*. Cf. Nanie Bridgman, in *Musica disciplina*, Rome, 1950, Vol. IV, fasc. 1, pp. 65-8.

² Among his examples of Thematic Catalogues, *Grove* mentions J. G. I. Breitkopf's lists of manuscript music on sale at Leipzig 1762-87, but not John Bland's general and special lists of 1790, to be discussed later, nor William Forster's lists of Haydn's symphonies and quartets published or sold by him in London about 1791 and afterwards.

fond de J. J. & B. Hummel", with, at least, two supplements. According to Miss Cari Johansson (Kungl. Musikaliska Akademiens Bibliotek, Stockholm), the main catalogue was issued in 1768, the two supplements in 1769 and 70. The catalogue, 36 pages in *octavo*, is to be found in the Bibliothèque Royale at Brussels as well as in a private collection in Sweden, which also contains the supplements of four and six pages respectively. (Photostats of all the three parts are in the Stockholm library mentioned above.)

It is curious that an early use of the term in its secondary sense is to be found in almost contemporary letters by Haydn (1783) and Mozart (1786). Haydn, in his letters to Artaria & Co. of 20th March and 8th April, 1783, mentions twice the *Themata* and the lost *Catalog aller meiner Trij* (of all my trios, probably the string trios) which he provided for Count Durazzo.³ Mozart in his letters to Sebastian Winter, valet to Prince Joseph Fürstenberg, of 8th August and 30th September, 1786, also speaks of *themata* and encloses a musical list of his latest works, *nota bene* in a one-stave system, for the Prince.⁴

In parenthesis, it may be noticed here that Mozart had become more closely attached to Haydn in 1785, when he dedicated to him the famous set of string quartets, and that John Bland, the London music publisher, visited Haydn in 1789, when he renewed the invitation to come to England. Between Haydn's two English journeys Bland published in 1793 an engraved portrait of Haydn's pupil and London competitor, Ignaz Pleyel (see below).

This John Bland issued between 1786 and 1791 several dated title catalogues in the usual style. In 1790, however, he printed three *subject catalogues*, as he called them, with *beginnings*. No copy of these three catalogues has been traced so far, but they have been recorded recently by Dr. Edith Schnapper, the new editor of the *Union Catalogue of Music*. We learn of them first from an advertisement on one of Bland's title catalogues. There are three of them in the Royal College of Music (XVIII.E.19), dated 1789, 1790, and 1791. The one of 25th June, 1790, bears the following note:

N.B. In the course of the summer will be published the *Public's Guide*; or, a Catalogue with the subjects, or themes, of all the several musical Works engraved and sold by J. Bland, in three parts, *viz.* No. 1, Instrumental Music; No. 2, Harpsichord ditto; and No. 3, Vocal ditto; Price each 6d.—By referring to this Catalogue, it will prevent any one having the same music twice over, the 1st bars of each work, with their titles, &c. appearing under their several heads; being the first thing of the kind ever done here.

These three "subject catalogues" are also mentioned in the headings of a special thematic list, two pages in folio, preserved at the Royal College of Music in the same volume of single sheet music which was acquired after Grove's time and after the publication of William Barclay Squire's catalogue (1909). The first page is entitled: "Theme Catalogue of French Songs. Printed & Sold by J. Bland, No. 45 Holborn London. Where the Subject Catalogues No. 1, 2 & 3 may be had Containing all the Works specified on The Titles . . .".

³ Franz Artaria and Hugo Botstiber, *Joseph Haydn und das Verlagshaus Artaria*, pp. 26-8. J. P. Larsen, *Die Haydn-Überlieferung*, p. 250.

⁴ Ludwig Schiedermair, *Die Briefe W. A. Mozarts*, II, 268-72. Emily Anderson, *The Letters of Mozart and His Family*, III, 1337-41.

The other page is headed: "Catalogue of Subjects or Beginnings of Italian Songs &c. . . . Where 3 other Catalogues may be had of Subjects of all the Works Printed by him". Thus it seems that the term *Thematic Catalogue* was first approached in England: Bland tentatively went from *Public's Guide*, over *Theme Catalogue*, to *Subjects or Beginnings*. In his "Collection of Sonatas . . . for the Harpsichord" (1790-3) he calls, in 1793, the thematic contents of the four volumes simply *Index*.

In 1798, Artaria & Co., Vienna, published a "Catalogue thématique de Haydn, Mozart, Clementi et Pleyel", 63 pages small *quarto*, a copy of which came with the Artaria archives in the Vienna Stadtbibliothek. A thematic list of Pleyel's works, printed up to that date, had already been printed by Artaria in 1789.

It was Ignaz (now Ignace) Pleyel, the composer-publisher, who introduced the term *Catalogue thématique* in 1802 into Paris when he first printed Haydn's collected string quartets in parts, engraved by Antoine-Jacques Richomme. This *Collection complète des quatuors d'Haydn* was probably edited by Pierre-Marie Baillot, the solo-violinist, who joined Buonaparte's private band in 1802.⁵

There are two editions, and three issues of the first edition, all without date.

The first issue contains 80 quartets up to Op. 76, No. 6; Pleyel's address is given as *Rue Neuve des Petits Champs*, No. 728; the list of subscribers, printed in type, runs from Adam to Naiguéli, i.e. Nägeli of Zürich; the first violin part contains that list and the *Catalogue thématique de tous les quatuors d'Haydn, avoués par l'Auteur*. The first edition is dedicated to the "premier consul Bonaparte". The appeal for subscribers to Haydn's *Oeuvres*, printed in March 1799 in the *Journal général de la Littérature de France* (pp. 94 f.) and mentioned by Pohl-Botstiber (*Joseph Haydn*, III, 136), does not refer, as indicated by Botstiber, to Pleyel and the quartets, but apparently to Breitkopf & Härtel's *Oeuvres*, published between 1800 and 1806. The first issue of Pleyel's edition of Haydn's quartets in parts was probably begun in 1801 and published in 1802.⁶

The second issue has the list of subscribers still in type but augmented by names of royalty and nobility, including "S.M. l'Empereur-Roi, à Vienne" and Prince Lobkowitz, at the top of the page, which indicates a date after Napoleon's coronation in 1804, although the dedication to Buonaparte has not been altered. The number of quartets is now 82, including Op. 77, Nos. 1 and 2, the Lobkowitz quartets first printed in 1802, and the catalogue is altered accordingly. The date of publication was probably 1805.

The third issue, still dedicated to the premier consul, has the list of subscribers lithographed, with the name of Romagnac Rigail at the end. Pleyel's

⁵ Marion Scott, "Haydn's '83'", *Music & Letters*, July 1930, pp. 209 f.

⁶ Pleyel's *Oeuvres d'Haydn en partition*, confined to thirty string quartets in ten volumes octavo, were the first specimens of pocket scores. Volume one was published in 1802 (see *Journal général, etc.*, 1802, pp. 215 and 284), the last volume probably about 1805. In these pocket scores, called *Bibliothèque musicale*, Pleyel also printed four Haydn symphonies (1802/3), but the series was not intended for Haydn's works only. Pleyel's *Collection complète des Sonates d'Haydn, pour Forté-Piano* started before March 1802 (see *Journal général, etc.*, 1802, p. 56).

address is given as No. 1286 in the same street as before, although he was already at this number in 1803 (see *Journal général, etc.*, March 1803). The date of the third issue was probably about 1810.

The *Nouvelle édition*, entitled *Collection complète, etc.*, and published by Ignace Pleyel & Fils aîné about 1820, is newly engraved by Richomme, "graveur du roi", i.e. Louis XVIII, with one publisher's number only: 715.⁷ It contains 83 quartets, including the unfinished one, Op. 103, first published in 1806, and a *Catalogue de tous les quatuors d'Haydn*, no longer called *thématique*. The subscribers' list of the first edition is not reprinted here.

The first edition was issued on "papier Jésus" (160 Francs), and on vellum, the latter in ordinary size (180 Frs.) or in large folio (200 Frs.). Both editions have Haydn's portrait, engraved by L. Darcis after P. N. Guérin, as frontispiece in the first violin part. The British Museum is now in possession of all the four versions, only the second issue being incomplete. The other versions went there with the Paul Hirsch Library. Haydn himself owned the first issue, and, according to his letters to Pleyel of 4th May, 1801, and 6th December, 1802, he was very satisfied when he received it.⁸

The term *Thematic Catalogue* was accepted by Anton André when, in 1805, he first published Mozart's own catalogue at Offenbach am Main, and about 1810 it was introduced, or rather re-introduced, into England when Monzani & Hill published a collection of Beethoven's pianoforte works.⁹

These were, apparently, the first catalogues called thematic, and since then the term has remained in use everywhere. Is it reasonable to keep it in future? To call the first bars of a musical piece, a theme, is like calling the first line of a poem, a subject. Pleyel, as shown above, dropped the word *thématique* from his second edition. Was his second thought the sounder?

⁷ The first edition has 18 publisher's numbers, ranging from 29 to 379, the number 519 being added in the second and third issues. The earlier numbers are those of separate issues of the 80 quartets, published in groups between 1796 and 1801.

⁸ See Pohl-Botstiber, *Joseph Haydn*, III, 206, and Larsen, *l.c.*, pp. 147 f. and 292 f. The second letter refers to both sizes of the first issue in parts, and to volume one of the scores.

⁹ Sieber père's Paris edition of Haydn's string quartets in parts, not published before 1806 or 1807, also contains a *Table Thématique*, on two pages folio instead of Pleyel's one.

The Rowe Music Library, King's College, Cambridge

BY

JILL VLASTO

IN *Music Libraries*, by McColvin and Reeves, published in 1938, more space is given to the description of music libraries in Cambridge than in any other town of Great Britain and Ireland except London. Much of this space is devoted to the Hirsch Library which was then on loan in the University Library; now, thanks to an enlightened Treasury, the Hirsch Library is housed permanently in the British Museum, but there are still many important music libraries in Cambridge.

It is surprising, in view of the centralization of musical life in the capitals, that there are so many British music libraries outside London, Edinburgh and Dublin, and more surprising still that there should be so many in Cambridge. All the music libraries there are directly connected with either the University (e.g. the Fitzwilliam, University and Faculty of Music libraries) or with the colleges; the majority of them began as private collections, were bequeathed to college or University and have been added to since by other benefactors or by purchases. In this category come three of the four largest Cambridge music libraries, the Fitzwilliam, the Pendlebury (Faculty of Music) and the Rowe (King's College). The other big collection is in the University Library. This has grown in a different way and over a longer period of time but it too has been enriched by benefactions from private collectors, notably Dr. Arnold. Apart from these four large libraries there are smaller collections at the Union and the University Music Club and a large number of manuscripts in some of the colleges, chiefly at Peterhouse, Corpus Christi and Magdalene.

There is no published catalogue of the printed music in any of these libraries except the Fitzwilliam, with the result that scholars outside Cambridge are to a large extent unaware of the wealth of music to be found there. A short account of the history and contents of the Rowe Music Library seems to me not out of place in this number of *THE MUSIC REVIEW* which pays tribute to the doyen of music collectors on his 70th birthday. This collection of printed music and MSS. is part of the library of King's College and is primarily for the use of resident members of the college. Other people may, however, receive permission to work there by applying to the librarian.

The Rowe Music Library is almost exclusively the gift of one devoted anonymous member of the college who for a quarter of a century has made it the object of his generous solicitude. The long list of his benefactions began with the gift in 1928 of the library of his friend, Louis Thompson Rowe, and I am indebted to him for the biographical notes which follow.

Louis Thompson Rowe was born in December 1855, the eldest of the three sons of a grocer at Bridgwater who carried on business near the Church and was a man of strong character and integrity. The boys' mother died while they were still young, and Louis went early in life to the north of England to learn the law in a solicitors' office. His family were all musical, and in his

spare time he took piano lessons, besides reading largely. Before long he came to London in answer to an advertisement by a well known firm of family solicitors for a conveyancing clerk or manager; he was chosen from a large number of applicants, fortunately for himself and for the firm with whom he remained in active work until his death; to them and their clients he was of great value, not only for his power of concise clear expression on paper, but also for his quick understanding and calm determination in matters of dispute or special difficulty.

The law interested and supported but did not absorb him; he soon became a good pianist (though rarely if ever playing solo before an audience) and taught himself to read and speak French and Italian and to read Latin and German, with some Greek; though not a member of either University he was admitted to the Oxford and Cambridge Musical Club as a distinguished amateur and played regularly in chamber music both in the Club's rooms in Reynolds House, Leicester Square and at his own house 15, Hammersmith Terrace, where quartet and trio music was often to be heard: he was also a member of the Bibliographical Society. His house was full to overflowing of books and music "designed for use rather than ostentation" but collected with knowledge, economy and taste, many of them bought in Italy where he was accustomed to spend some weeks each year. His wife had as Miss Frances Elizabeth Hoyle been an early student at Newnham and was herself a pianist and a singer in private.

Late in life he took lessons in playing the viola and used modestly to share in a string quartet when no one else was available for the part. The opportunity of buying a specially fine instrument arose at a time when his bank balance was low, and he wrote to his father asking for a loan of £150 to enable the purchase of "a fine Italian viola"; his writing though elegant was small, and his father was then an old man; the answer showed the justified affection and confidence felt for such a son, and was to this effect: "Dear Louis, I can't think what you want with a villa in Italy but I send the £150".

Mr. Rowe was killed in a traffic accident in October, 1927; his *incunabula* and other valuable books were sold by Hodgsons in 1928; his music collection was acquired for King's College under an option given by his will for that purpose.

Since Rowe's death his collection has received substantial additions, the most important of which are the collected works of the great composers and modern reprints of old music. Another important addition to the original library is the miniature scores, over 1,100 in number. Apart from these two new side-lines it has been possible to add to the other sections of the library with the result that there are now some 10,000 items, consisting partly of modern editions for the performer, partly of works of reference and early editions for the scholar. About 2,700 items are duplicates of titles in the B.M. catalogue of printed music and some 1,350 are items printed before 1800 which do not appear therein.¹

¹ For these figures and for much helpful information I must thank Professor O. E. Deutsch.

The college also acquired in 1930 over 500 items from the music library of the late Dr. A. H. Mann, organist of King's from 1876-1929. Dr. Mann was a great Handelian and among his books are many early editions of Handel, 85 Handel *libretti*, early theoretical works and eighteenth-century song books. The Rowe and Mann libraries are administered together and in the rest of this article an attempt will be made to describe briefly their contents and to mention by name some of the more important items.

Collected works:—Bach, Beethoven, Berlioz, Brahms, Byrd, Couperin, Dufay, Grétry, Handel, Haydn, Josquin des Prés, Lassus, Lully, Mendelssohn, Monteverdi, Mozart, Palestrina, Purcell, Rameau, D. Scarlatti, Schubert, Schütz, Schumann, Senfl, Vivaldi.

The 3 Denkmäler series, *L'Arte Musicale in Italia*, *Bibliotheca di rarità musicale*, *Classici della musica italiana*, English Madrigal School, English School of Lutenist Song-writers, *Hispaniae Schola Musica Sacra*, *Les Maîtres Musiciens de la renaissance française*, *Monumenta Musicae Belgicae*, *Monuments de la musique française au temps de la renaissance*, Old English Edition, Nagel's *Musik-Archiv*, *Publications de la musique ancienne polonaise*, Tudor Church Music.

Opera, oratorio, choral music:—over 800 full or vocal operatic scores including 2 Lully full scores by Ballard—*Amadis* (1684) and *Armide* (1686); 42 early Handel scores, 93 full scores of French operas of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries by such composers as Adam, Boieldieu, Cherubini, Méhul, Spontini, etc.; all the Verdi operas save one in vocal score; all the operas of Wagner in full and vocal scores except for such things as *Die Feen* and *Liebesverbot*.

A contemporary MS. of A. Scarlatti's oratorio *La Giuditta* in a fine binding; Purcell's *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* for St. Cecilia's Day, 1694 (London 1697); 20 Handel oratorios by Walsh including the first edition of the selection of songs from *Messiah*.

Orchestral music:—A large number of miniature scores; a number of modern editions of Bach, Handel, etc., in parts; an extremely interesting collection of about 70 late eighteenth and early nineteenth century concertos in parts many of them in contemporary MS. Among these are six by Georg Benda, two published in Leipzig in 1779 and four in MS; three cembalo concertos by Nickelmänn in MS. which appear to be unknown and unpublished;² four concertos by E. W. Wolf (Berlin 1784, Breslau 1785, Leipzig 1788, and one in MS.); C. P. E. Bach *Concerto per il Cembalo* (Wotquenne No. 25) (Nuremberg 1752); Casper Flack *Thirty-six Military Divertimentos for Two Clarinets, Two Horns and a Bassoon Obligato as they are Perform'd by his Majesty's Bands at St. James's* (c. 1776).

Chamber Music:—A good collection in modern editions from Byrd up to the present day; a large number of eighteenth-century music, trio-sonatas, flute sonatas, violin sonatas, etc.; some extremely interesting seventeenth-century MSS. given by the late Lord Keynes, one set of two viol part books

² My thanks to Mr. C. L. Cudworth for this information.

containing music by Micho, O. Gibbons, Coperario, Ward, Jenkins and Whyte, and another set of four viol part books containing three, four and five part fancies by Lupo, Ferrabosco junior, Deering, Jenkins, Whyte and Coleman; Frescobaldi's *Recercari et Canzoni* (Rome 1615); Marin Marais' *Pièces de Violes* (1686 and 1701); Corelli Op. 5, the Rome edition of 1700 in two issues, one of which is not in the B.M.; Albinoni's *Balletti a tre*, Op. 3 (Amsterdam 1714); an unknown Pergolesi *Sonata di Violino e Basso* in MS; many early editions of Boccherini, etc.

Keyboard Music:—Most of the usual music in the pianist's repertoire (and a great deal which is no longer in it, e.g. the complete works of Raff); a vast number of arrangements of chamber, vocal and orchestral music for two or four hands; two unusual Froberger items, *Diverse curiose e rarissime partite di toccate, ricercate, caprici e fantasie* (Mainz 1695) and *Dix Suites de Clavessin* (Amsterdam, c. 1705); any number of eighteenth-century sonatas, suites, lessons and so forth including Dr. Burney's famous harpsichord duets (1777); many early D. Scarlatti editions including two copies of what is perhaps the most beautiful book in the library, *Essercizi per Gravicembalo*, engraved by Benjamin Fortier.³

Song books, etc.:—A curious MS. scroll dated 1580 containing 57 rounds and catches; a MS. collection of 13 solo songs with lute accompaniment of the late sixteenth century; several Playford publications; psalm collections; Blow's *Amphion Anglicus* (1700); a number of eighteenth-century song books such as *Clio and Euterpe*, the British Musical Miscellany, etc.

Theoretical works:—A large number of theoretical works from Glareanus (1547) onwards. There is Galilei's *Dialogo della Musica Antica* (1581); Morley's *Plaine and easie Introduction* (1608); Kircher's *Musurgia Universalis* (Rome 1650); Simpson's *The Division Viol* (1667) and *A Compendium of Practical Music* (1678); *Musick's Monument* by Mace (1676); Coferati's *Il cantore addottrinato* (Florence 1682); Bertalotti's *Regole utilissimi per apprendre il canto fermo* (1706); Lampe's *The Art of Musicke* (1740); the first edition of Leopold Mozart's *Violinschule*; Kirnberger's *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik* (Berlin 1774), and so on. There are numerous books of instruction for learning various instruments.

Among the *miscellanea* are the usual complement of dictionaries, catalogues, thematic indices, a few biographies; on the whole the library has concentrated on music rather than books on music and there are no periodicals. There is the only known complete copy of *The Bird Fancier's Delight* (Walsh and Hare c. 1730) and a large number of Walsh arrangements of opera and other tunes by Handel for one or two flutes. These books are in oblong *octavo* and in original bluish grey wrappers with original stitching, as are also a great number of vocal scores of operas in Walsh editions. There are a few specimens of early binding and many fine modern bindings.

³ Recently about a dozen copies of this book have been traced in Great Britain and as Fortier is known to have been working in England in the 1730's the latest theory, advanced by Mr. Richard Newton, is that it was published, not in Madrid in 1740, nor in Venice, c. 1730, but in England c. 1735.

Classifications in American Music Libraries

BY

KATHI MEYER-BAER

THERE are some few methods of classification for music libraries. Of these the most popular in the United States are the Decimal—or Dewey—system, the Library of Congress system, and a group of systems that are formed more or less on the European pattern.¹

The Decimal system is used in most of the average public libraries of which every town has one, and also in many of the older college libraries. The Library of Congress system is used, of course, in the Library of Congress and in college libraries formed more recently, that is in the last 25 years. The European system is used in some of the college libraries and in the New York Public Library in the 42nd Street division.

With the rich development of modern music as well as of music research in the last 70 years the use of the Decimal system has lead to such confusion that it seems proper to discuss its inconsistencies. The method of the Library of Congress has been elaborated for the music section by the excellent Oscar Sonneck, and its shortcomings are by far smaller; but they also will be felt soon.

During the years when I had the luck to work in the Paul Hirsch Library, I could elaborate a method which was used and operated easily, and which I also found practical in the reorganization of some American college libraries. With this system it was easy to allot any book to one of its classes, and it proved also practical in putting books of similar sizes together, and thus save room, which is, as every librarian knows, an important advantage.

This classification has four great classes and requires all in all 30 subdivisions for an average collection. The classes are:

MG (general)

- 1 Periodicals.
- 2 Reference books—Bibliographies, Dictionaries, *etc.*
- 3 Rare books, *curiosa*.

MH (history)

- 1 General histories of music.
- 2 History of special periods (arranged by authors).
- 3 Local histories (arranged by localities, countries, cities, institutions, *etc.*).
- 4 Biographies and criticism (arranged by composers).
- 4a Collected biographies (arranged by authors or editors).

¹ For European schemes see: Lionel Roy McColvin, *Music in Public Libraries*, 1936; for the early attempts see James Brown: "Guide to the formation of a Music Library". *The Library Association Series*, No. 4—1893.

History of special forms.

- 5 History of Church Music.
- 6 History of the Opera.
- 7 History of the Dance.
- 8 History of other forms (songs, instrumental forms; this class might be subdivided).
- 9 Instruments, history and structure.
- 10 History of notation, paleography.

MT (theory)

Aesthetics.

- 1 Philosophy and general.
- 1a Physiology.
- 2 Applied Psychology, appreciation, analyses.

Education.

- 3 Textbooks for schools, and concerning performance.
- 4 Textbooks on composing: harmony, counterpoint, *etc.*, including acoustics.

M (music)

- 1 Complete works and sets (the complete works arranged by composers, the sets as *e.g.* Fellowes' *Madrigal School* by editors or by titles).
- 2 Monuments (editions of mediaeval manuscripts, facsimile editions, *etc.*).
- 3 Opera (might be divided into scores and piano scores).
- 3a Incidental music.
- 3b *Libretti*.

Vocal Music.

- 4 Voices and orchestra, secular (Haydn's *Creation*), also arrangements.
- 5 Voices and orchestra, sacred (Masses, Requiems).
- 6a *A cappella*, part songs with sacred or secular text.
- 6b Sacred hymns, for solo or several parts.
- 7a Art songs and folksongs (songs for solo voice and piano, also songs from operas; folksongs, for solo or several parts).
- 7b Songs for voice and several instruments (solo voice with quartet, solo voice with orchestra).
- 7c Singing exercises.

Instrumental music.

- 8 Orchestra (symphonies, suites, variations, concerti grossi, also separate overtures).
 - a Scores.
 - b Miniature scores.
 - c Parts.

- 9 Orchestra and solo instrument.
 - a Piano.
 - b Violin.
 - c Violoncello.
 - d Other instruments.
 - e For more than one instrument.
- 10 Chamber music.
 - a Scores.
 - b Solo and duos, also arrangements for violin and piano.
 - c Trios and trio sonatas.
 - d Quartets.
 - e Quintets.
 - f Six and more instruments.
- 11 Music for band.
- 12 Piano music.
 - a Solo, also arrangements for piano solo.
 - b For four hands.
 - c For four hands and two pianos.
 - d For eight hands.
- 13 Music for organ, including monuments.
- 14 Studies—Études, Exercises.
 - a Piano.
 - b String instruments.
 - c Wind instruments.
 - d Other instruments.
- 15 Dance, including folk dance, rhythmical studies.

THE DECIMAL SYSTEM

The Decimal or Dewey system, named after its inventor Melvil Dewey, is planned for every possible section of literature and knowledge, and uses numbers for the marks. Before we reach the music section, which alone shall be discussed here, 780 categories have been segregated. The system was elaborated 70 years ago and made for the standard of its period, without imagining the great developments that have taken place since.

The music section accounts for the numbers 780-789; the headings follow:

- 780 General.
- 781 Theory and technical.
- 782 Dramatic music. Theatre music.
- 783 Church music.
- 784 Vocal music.
- 785 Instrumental music.
- 786 Keyboard music.
- 787 Stringed instruments.
- 788 Wind instruments.
- 789 Percussion and mechanical instruments.

The numbers are supposed to give by their decimal order a picture of the importance of their section. By adding further decimals the sections are subdivided, to the effect that most of the music books are marked with nine numbers.

Our first objection is that the order of the numbers does not correspond to the importance of the classes. Already a first look at the nine sections tells us that the divisions are not logical. If there is a section for instrumental music, the classes for the different instruments should be subdivisions, and the keyboard and percussion instruments should not have classes for themselves. Also, the section "theory and technical" does not correspond in importance to divisions such as "church, vocal, *etc.*, music" which should be subdivisions of "music".

Our second objection is that the divisions are not clear. I want to give some examples of the ensuing muddle. The class 780—General—lists books of the first three groups of our system: dictionaries and yearbooks—780.3; 780.58—our MG; history or other general treatments [*sic*]—780.9 and biography—780.92—our MH; instrumental and other types distinctly suited for sight-reading—780.77—our MT.

In the second class 781—theory and technical—we have some sections concerned with thoroughbass, *etc.*; but we have here also history of notation, neumes and tablatures; we have also different kinds of music such as *Allegro*, *Andantino*, *Minuets*, *Finale* [*sic*]. Incidentally, we have here class marks with nine numbers; minuets sonata has 781.508.223 [*sic*]. Then follows a section Overtures, *Entr'actes*, Interludes, with the added note "Compositions and executing of a special kind of music is classified with that kind", and beside we have a section "Composition in general" [*sic*], corresponding apparently to the "miscellaneous" of office files. Then we come again to some sections for theory proper, to jump right back to history of music. Here we have a class—theories and forms: racial, national, *etc.*—with cross-references to the small group of outspoken headings of history in the class 780. In this racial section we have the following groups: Primitive and savage people—People not otherwise provided for [*sic*], Gipsies—Ancient music, theories, modes and forms—Various questions. Then we jump back again to books of our class "general—MG" and listing: "Museums and collections, Music bibliographies, catalogues", with the note "bibliography of writings see 0.16.78 (that is a section completely different from music) . . . then "catalogues", *etc.*

The third reason for difficulties in working with the Decimal system is that some sections are too small and others too big. The classes for the books on history of music are too small; the class 789, percussion instruments is too big; the third class 782, Dramatic music is too big, too much divided and outdated. It starts with: Polygraphy—and lists works which we would allot to either MG (general) or MH (history), works which are of book size. Then are listed: Grand Opera, Epic Wagneriana [*sic*], Other German Grand Opera, French Grand Opera, Italian Grand Opera, Comic and satiric [*sic*] opera, *Opera bouffa*, Operettas, Parodies, Pantomimes and Masks—these are all separate

sections. No word is said whether we have here music or books on music, neither whether we have scores, piano scores or parts. Further, we would expect in such a detailed paragraphing a section "Lyric opera" or "Singspiel"; besides, who to-day knows the difference between Grand opera and Lyric opera?

With all these divisions the allotment of odd works is not easy. Where should we put Mendelssohn's *Midsummer Night's Dream* music? There is no place for it in the class Dramatic Music 782; perhaps we should list it in 781-6 "Overtures, *Entr'actes*, Interludes"; but no, it comes under 785-22 "Dramatic, illustrative, descriptive, programme, imitative [*sic*]", a part of the section "Instrumental *ensemble*". "As for the music section of Dewey's scheme with its haphazard overclassification and the confusion of music literature and music, it must provoke nightmare in any one", writes McColvin.

To summarize: the three faults with the Decimal system are that the numbers do *not* correspond to the importance of the section; that the sections overlap and that the headings are partly outdated (Epic Wagneriana) and that important headings (*Gesamtausgaben*) are lacking.

It has been thought that this system eases the work of a librarian who is not familiar with the content of the books which he has to handle. Concerning this point I have to tell of a contrary experience which I had in the very good small library in the suburb of New York where I live. I wanted to look up some facts in the two similar books *The World History of Dance* and Paul Nettl's *History of Dance Music*. The music division in our library is small and has perhaps about 200 items. I found the two mentioned books in two different rooms, one in the class 781, a music section, the other book under 793, under: Dance—Entertainment [*sic*].

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS SYSTEM

This system was elaborated in 1902, put into force in 1904, and revised in 1917, by Oscar Sonneck. It has three great classes: M Music—ML Literature of music—MT Musical instruction and study. It has *c.* 15,000 divisions, but the number alone should not deter one from using it; because it is not necessary to use the whole numbers, and it can be simplified. The headings are not so awkward as in the Decimal system, and most headings which we would expect in a music classification are listed. What we object to is that the three great divisions, and sometimes the subdivisions, are not clear but overlap.

To give some examples: Dictionaries—ML 100—110—can contain historical (ML) and theoretical (MT) information (Riemann). In the class ML the bibliography—ML 111—158—is listed separately from History—ML 159—3790; some books, such as Eitner, might belong to both of these classes. It is especially the whole group ML 3800—3920, called "Philosophy and physics" which is so closely related to the theory of music that these sections should be listed under MT; or the whole class MT should go into "Literature of music—ML".

The term Literature of music seems to me too general and too vague and makes the class ML too large to give help. The four sections which we used in the Paul Hirsch Library make the finding of a book easier. The classification

of the Library of Congress means little more than a division into music, and not music proper. Besides, the divisions are not clear. The books on theory of music, allotted in the Congress system to the section "Musical instruction and studies" are none the less books on music and thus belong to Literature of music.

CONCLUSION

The discarding of the Decimal system and its replacement by a reasonable classification is quite a financial problem. The reorganization of the music divisions in the many public and college libraries, small though they may be, would need time and money. But the sooner it is done the better. The system of the Library of Congress has fewer inconsistencies than the Dewey system, but perhaps its use is thus more dangerous, because the damage will be felt more slowly.

In conclusion I will try to outline the points that seem most important in organizing a music division.

A library is a living institution, and not a dead thing. It develops according to our general knowledge and to the general trend. A rigid classification, fixed once and for all, cannot follow this development. Therefore a method of classification should be flexible and should define some few basic classes only.

The classes should be clear and not overlapping. For reference books, which often include chapters from different sections, an extra class—our General—should be formed.

We shall obtain clear headings only if we base them on the different powers which the reader activates while using a book. In our field of music the reader will approach a book in these different ways.

- (1) The reader may look for music which he wants to play and/or read; all books of this kind would go to the class M—Music; or
- (2) he wants to deepen his understanding of a piece of music. This he can do again in two ways. He can study the structure of a piece, or he may want to discover its meaning and to evaluate it. Books which the reader reads for these purposes should all be put into the one class MT—Theory of music. The subdivisions of this class would be theory proper for the first and music appreciation, criticism or aesthetics for the second one. It is confusing to separate these two kinds as the method of the Library of Congress does.
- (3) There is one other approach, that is the historical method where a student tries to define the style of a piece, to determine its period, its author, *etc.* Books giving information in this manner should be put into the class MH—History of music.

Classes should be neither too big, nor too small, the classes themselves as well as the subdivisions. Classes that are too large run the risk of becoming vague, as is the case with the "Literature of music" in the Congress scheme. Too small divisions confuse and force the reader to start the alphabet anew after a couple of books, see the division into biographies of composers, of pianists, of violinists, *etc.*, in the Decimal system.

Whether a class has to be large, or whether it has to be divided into more or fewer subdivisions depends upon the individual collection. In every library these sections develop from the material as well as from the needs of the readers.

In the Paul Hirsch Library the collection of first editions formed a special group, in the New York Public Library the Popular Songs are such a special collection. The special classes will need also specialised handling, bibliographically and in cataloguing; but this problem is not in the scope of our article.

As the material is continuously changing it would be extremely useful to have one centre where information could be obtained from one specialist or from a staff of specialists. Such information cannot be laid down in printed books. The requirements of the questioners vary greatly. The centre of information should give advice to the librarian who is not well versed in music as to what books he has to add to his collection from the current publications as well as rare books; and if the librarian is in doubt, it should tell him the class to which to assign a book.

*Some Articles and Catalogues written or published by Paul Hirsch**

AND THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE PAUL HIRSCH MUSIC LIBRARY

A. ARTICLES AND CATALOGUES

1. *Katalog einer Mozart-Bibliothek.* Zu W. A. Mozarts 150. Geburtstag, 27. Januar 1906. Privately printed. Frankfurt a.M., 1906.
2. "Ein unbekanntes Lied von W. A. Mozart", mitgeteilt von Paul Hirsch—Frankfurt a.M. [= K.No.552.]
in: *Die Musik*, Jahrg. V, No. 21, 1. Augustheft, 1906. S. 164/5 und Musikbeilage. Berlin, Schuster & Löffler, 1906.
3. *Kunstgewerbemuseum—Frankfurt a.M.* Ausstellung: Schmuck und Illustration von Musikwerken in ihrer Entwicklung vom Mittelalter bis in die neueste Zeit. 23. December 1908 bis 24. Januar 1909. (The greater part of this exhibition consisted of music and books on music from the P.H. Library.)
4. *Zweite Musik-Fachausstellung im Krystallpalast zu Leipzig.*
3. bis 15. Juni 1909.—Katalog der Sonderausstellung aus der Musik-Bibliothek Paul Hirsch. Privately printed.
5. *Goethe und die Musik.* Auswahl von Schriften Goethe's und seines Kreises sowie von Kompositionen seiner Werke aus alter und neuer Zeit, ausgestellt für die Mitglieder der Gesellschaft am 15. Februar 1920. [on wrapper:] Den Mitgliedern der Gesellschaft der Freunde des Frankfurter Goethe-Museums überreicht von der Musikbibliothek Paul Hirsch, Frankfurt a.M. Privately printed.
6. *Eine kleine Bücherschau* für die Teilnehmer an den Hauptversammlungen der Gesellschaft der Bibliophilen, der Maximilian-Gesellschaft und der Gesellschaft Hessischer Bücherfreunde im Oktober 1920. Veranstaltet im Hause Paul Hirsch, Frankfurt a.M., Neue Mainzerstrasse 57.—Führer durch die Ausstellung. Privately printed. [Offenbach, Gebr. Klingspor.]
7. "Die Lage des deutschen Eisenmarktes."
in: *Mitteilungen der Vereinigten Handelskammern Frankfurt a.M.—Hanau.* September 1921.
8. "Musik-Bibliophilie. Aus den Erfahrungen eines Musik-Sammlers."
in: *Von Büchern und Menschen.* Festschrift Fedor von Zobeltitz zum 5. Oktober 1927 überreicht von der Gesellschaft der Bibliophilen. S. 247-254.
Weimar, Gesellschaft der Bibliophilen, 1927.

* Excluding reviews of books, concerts, etc., and letters to periodicals and *The Times*.

9. "Bibliographie der musiktheoretischen Drucke des Franchino Gafori."
in: *Festschrift für Johannes Wolf zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*. S. 65-72.
Berlin, Martin Breslauer, 1929.
10. "Die Lage des Grosshandels im Jahre 1930, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Frankfurter Bezirks." Von Paul Hirsch, Vizepräsident der Industrie- und Handelskammer Frankfurt a.M.-Hanau.
in: *Jahresbericht der Industrie- und Handelskammer Frankfurt a.M.-Hanau für 1930*.
11. "Die Frankfurter Bibliophilen-Gesellschaft."
in: *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, 36. Jahrgang-Dritte Folge I, Heft 9, Sept. 1932, S. 2-4. Leipzig, E. A. Seemann, 1932.
12. "Beiträge zur Musik-Bibliophilie."
in: *Festschrift für Carl Ernst Pöschel zum 60. Geburtstag* am 2. September 1934. S. 58-66. Leipzig, Pöschel & Trepte, 1934.
[Written in England:]
13. "A Discrepancy in Beethoven." [Concerning the C minor Symphony.]
in: *Music & Letters*, Vol. XIX, No. 3, July, 1938. Pp. 265-267.
14. "Some early Mozart editions."
in: *The Music Review*, Vol. I, No. 1, Febr., 1940. Pp. 54-67. Cambridge, Heffer, 1940.
15. "More early Mozart editions."
in: *The Music Review*, Vol. III, No. 1, Febr., 1942. Pp. 38-45. Cambridge, Heffer, 1942.
16. "Mozart's Great Mass in C minor." [K. 427.]
in: *The Cambridge Review*, Vol. LXIII, No. 1552, May 30, 1942. P. 344.
17. "A Mozart Problem." [Concerning Piano Fantasia K. 397.]
in: *Music & Letters*, Vol. XXV, No. 4, Oct., 1944. Pp. 209-212.
18. "The Salzburg Mozart Festival, 1906." Reminiscences of an amateur.
in: *The Music Review*, Vol. VII, No. 3, Aug., 1946. Pp. 149-153. Cambridge, Heffer, 1946.
19. "Dr. Arnold's Handel edition." (1787-1797.)
in: *The Music Review*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, May, 1947. Pp. 106-116. Cambridge, Heffer, 1947.

B. VERÖFFENTLICHUNGEN DER MUSIKBIBLIOTHEK PAUL HIRSCH

SERIE I

Herausgegeben von Prof. Johannes Wolf und Paul Hirsch. 12 Bände.

1. *Francesco Caza: Tractato vulgare de canto figurato*. Milano, 1492.
Im Faksimile mit Übersetzung herausgegeben von Johannes Wolf.
Mit einem Verzeichnis der nachweisbaren musiktheoretischen Inkunabeln. Berlin, Martin Breslauer, 1922.

2. *Giovanni Luca Conforto*: Breue et facile maniera d'essercitarsi a far passaggi. Roma, 1593 (1603?). Im Faksimile mit Übersetzung herausgegeben von Johannes Wolf. Berlin, Martin Breslauer, 1922.
3. *Neujahrsgüsse empfindsamer Seelen*. Eine Sammlung von Liedern mit Melodien und Bilderschmuck aus den Jahren 1770-1800. 75 faksimilierte und mit der Hand kolorierte Blätter. Herausgegeben von Max Friedländer. Berlin, Martin Breslauer, 1922.
4. *Georg Philipp Telemann*: Fantaisies por le Clavessin. 3 Douzaines. Mit einem Vorwort. Herausgegeben von Max Seiffert. Berlin, Martin Breslauer, 1923. (This edition was later on taken over by Bärenreiter-Verlag, Kassel, and re-published without the preface by Max Seiffert.)
5. *Hercole Bottrigari*: Il Desiderio overo de' concerti di varii strumenti musicali. Venetia, 1594. Mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen herausgegeben von Kathi Meyer. Berlin, Martin Breslauer, 1924.
6. *Karl Friedrich Zelter*: Fünfzehn ausgewählte Lieder. Mit einer Einleitung herausgegeben von Moritz Bauer. Berlin, Martin Breslauer, 1924.
7. *Giovanni Spataro*: Dilucide et probatissime demonstratione. Bologna, 1521. Im Faksimile mit Übersetzung herausgegeben von Johannes Wolf. Berlin, Martin Breslauer, 1925.
8. *Nicolaus Listenius*: Musica, ab authore denuo recognita. Norimbergae, 1549. Im Faksimile herausgegeben mit einer Einführung von Georg Schünemann. Berlin, Martin Breslauer, 1927.
9. *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach*: Zwölf zwei- und dreistimmige kleine Stücke für die Flöte oder Violine und das Klavier (1770). Mit Einführung neu herausgegeben von Richard Hohenemser. Berlin, Martin Breslauer, 1928.
10. *Christoph Schultze*: Lukas-Passion. Leipzig, 1653. Mit einer Einführung herausgegeben von Peter Epstein. Berlin, Martin Breslauer, 1930.
11. *Martin Luther*: Deutsche Messe. 1526. Mit einem Geleitwort herausgegeben von Johannes Wolf. Kassel, Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1934.
12. *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart*: The ten celebrated String Quartets. First authentic edition in score. Edited by Alfred Einstein. London, Novello & Co., Ltd. (1945).

SERIE II

Katalog der Musikbibliothek Paul Hirsch, Frankfurt am Main (Vol. IV without "Frankfurt am Main"), herausgegeben von Kathi Meyer und Paul Hirsch.

Band I: Theoretische Drucke bis 1800
Berlin, Martin Breslauer, 1928

- Band II: Opern-Partituren
Berlin, Martin Breslauer, 1930
- Band III: Instrumental- und Vokalmusik bis etwa 1830
Frankfurt am Main, 1936
- Band IV: Erstausgaben, Chorwerke in Partitur, Gesamtausgaben,
Nachschlagewerke *etc.*, Ergänzungen zu Band I-III
Cambridge, University Press, 1947.

(Compiled by OLGA HIRSCH)

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Princeton University Press

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by ARCHIBALD T. DAVISON and WILLI APEL,
2 volumes each 50s. net
(Volume 2 to be published in April). Harvard University Press.

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by WILLI APEL. Harvard University Press. 32s. 6d. net

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